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ABSTRACT

Papers and proposals resulting from educational and rural development fieldwork in the highlands of Papua New Guinea by the education staff and students of the University of Papua New Guinea are included in this collection. Providing essential background knowledge necessary for formulating solutions to the complex and politically sensitive issues facing education in Papua New Guinea, this book presents information derived from interviews with village communities and school leavers re: their expectations of the school system and the extent to which these have been met; the primary school "push out" problem; the desire for adult education; and ways in which rural development can be fostered. Additionally, these papers address school-community relationships; the role of vocational centers; and the conduct of adult literacy programs. Papers are titled: "Agarabi Vocational Centre"; "Parents and Children Talk about Education"; "Political Education"; "Local Government Councils and the School Leaver Problem"; "Economics of Education in the Kainantu Area"; "Parents' Expectations of Education"; "Reports on Educational Fieldwork" (six individual reports); "Talking to Highlanders about Education"; "School Leavers in the Village"; "The Uses of Schooling in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea"; "A Community Based Education System"; "Grass Roots Education: A Proposal"; "Is Our Present Educational System Really That Bad?"; "Community Based Education: A Reply"; "What Goes on at Alkena 'Yangpela Didiman Senta'"; "A Proposal for a Change in Education Policy in Niugini". (JC)

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EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HIGHLANDS OF PAPUA NEW-GUINEA.

edited by : J. P. Powell and M. Wilson

RC 010080

EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HIGHLANDS OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

edited by

J.P. POWELL
and
MICHAEL WILSON

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PREFACE

Education, in all its many aspects, undoubtedly presents the biggest and most intractable problem facing Papua New Guinea at the present time and it will continue to do so for many years to come. The school system, with an enrolment approaching a quarter of a million, consumes a very large part of the country's economic resources and absorbs most of its educated manpower yet few people are satisfied with its achievements or with the many side-effects which it generates. Without a fairly high level of formal education for a minority of the population it is not possible to develop a modern economy or to service the apparatus of government and its attendant public bodies yet the social cost of this is a good deal greater than many people realize. In the urban centres there is a high and rapidly growing level of unemployment among school-leavers with its consequences in terms of frustrated aspirations, crime, vandalism and civil disobedience. With the educated elite there is the danger of producing a ruling class which gathers unto itself political, economic and material power at the expense of the advancement of the great mass of ordinary people whose labour supports it. In the rural areas, where over ninety per cent of the population live as subsistence agriculturalists, the school system is highly disruptive of traditional social and economic life: it encourages urban drift, undermines traditional modes of social control, fosters a generation gap, reduces the size of the labour force available to maintain the productivity of subsistence farming and to engage in cash cropping and minor industrial projects, and results in many young people becoming scornful of village life and considering little as being worthwhile unless they can secure paid employment in a town. While it is clear that the school system is not solely responsible for these and other social problems in Papua New Guinea and elsewhere, there is certainly a close, if complex, relationship between them.

All of these concomitants of schooling are quite widely acknowledged and the Government is very much concerned to do something about them;

they are also familiar on a much larger scale in many other countries; unfortunately, we have little understanding of ways in which they might be avoided. A necessary condition for the formulation of solutions to such complex and politically sensitive issues is the availability of detailed knowledge of the realities of the grass-roots situation and most of what follows results from our attempts, in collaboration with groups of undergraduates, to gather some of the data upon which all sound policy decisions concerning education and rural development must rest. From village communities in the Eastern, Western and Southern Highlands Districts we have sought information regarding their expectations of the school system and the extent to which these have been met, their views on the primary school 'push-out' problem, their desire for adult education and their opinions on ways in which rural development may best be fostered. We have also discussed these matters with many school-leavers. Some attention has also been given to school-community relationships, the role of vocational centres, and the conduct of adult literacy programmes. Further data on these topics will be presented in a subsequent volume.

In addition to this material there are also some proposals and comments upon ways in which some of the issues already mentioned might best be tackled but most of these are very much hints and sketches. A later volume will include a wider range of proposals for change as well as reports on the progress of a variety of attempts to modify both the formal and informal educational systems in order to meet in a realistic fashion the aspirations of village people.

Most of the work reported here has been carried out by students of the University of Papua New Guinea and there can be no doubt that field-work of this nature provides students with an invaluable educational and professional training experience as well as serving to bring both them and the University closer to those who look to them for leadership and assistance. We believe that all students should be required to spend at least part of their time at university or college in living and working with people in rural areas: that they could make a notable contribution to the social, political and economic development of rural communities is made plain in the pages which follow.

John Powell
Michael Wilson
Port Moresby
April 1974

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We must first thank the University of Papua New Guinea for its generous provision of research funds which made possible both the fieldwork and this publication. The cover was designed by Akis of the Creative Arts Centre. The maps were drawn by Vagi Raula, a cartographer in the Geography Department of the University. The photographs were taken by the editors. A rather complex script by many hands was efficiently typed by Cristi [illegible]kery, Diane Holm, Eulalie McLauchlin and Cynthia Douglas.

We also wish to record our gratitude to the many Government field officers and to the Mission workers who unfailingly offered assistance, hospitality and information. Without the help and interest of many hundreds of village people the entire project would, of course, have been quite impossible to carry through and we hope that the results will be of some help to them even though they will never be able to read this book.

JPP
MW

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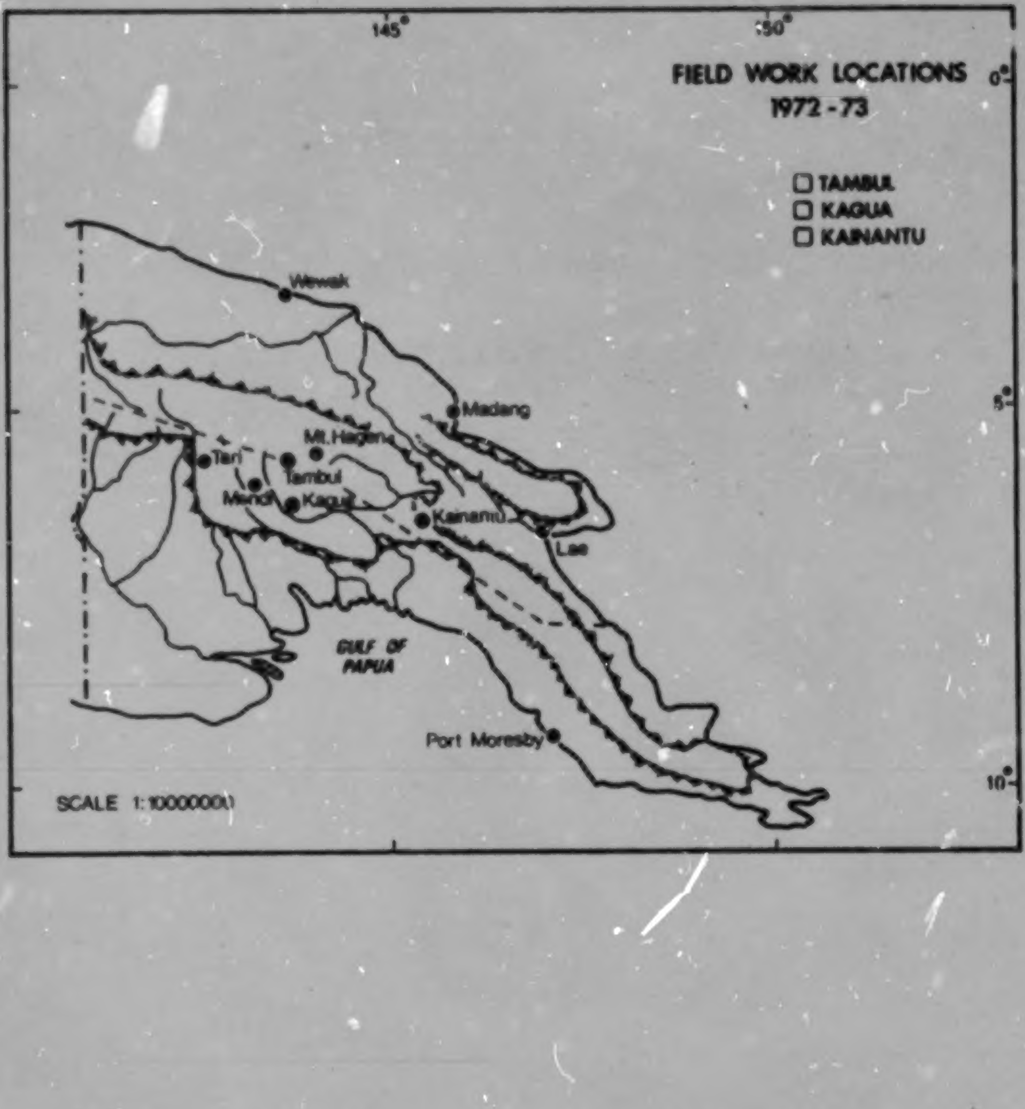
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FIELD WORK LOCATIONS
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☐ TAMBUL
☐ KAGUA
☐ KAINANTU
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Kagua
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Lae
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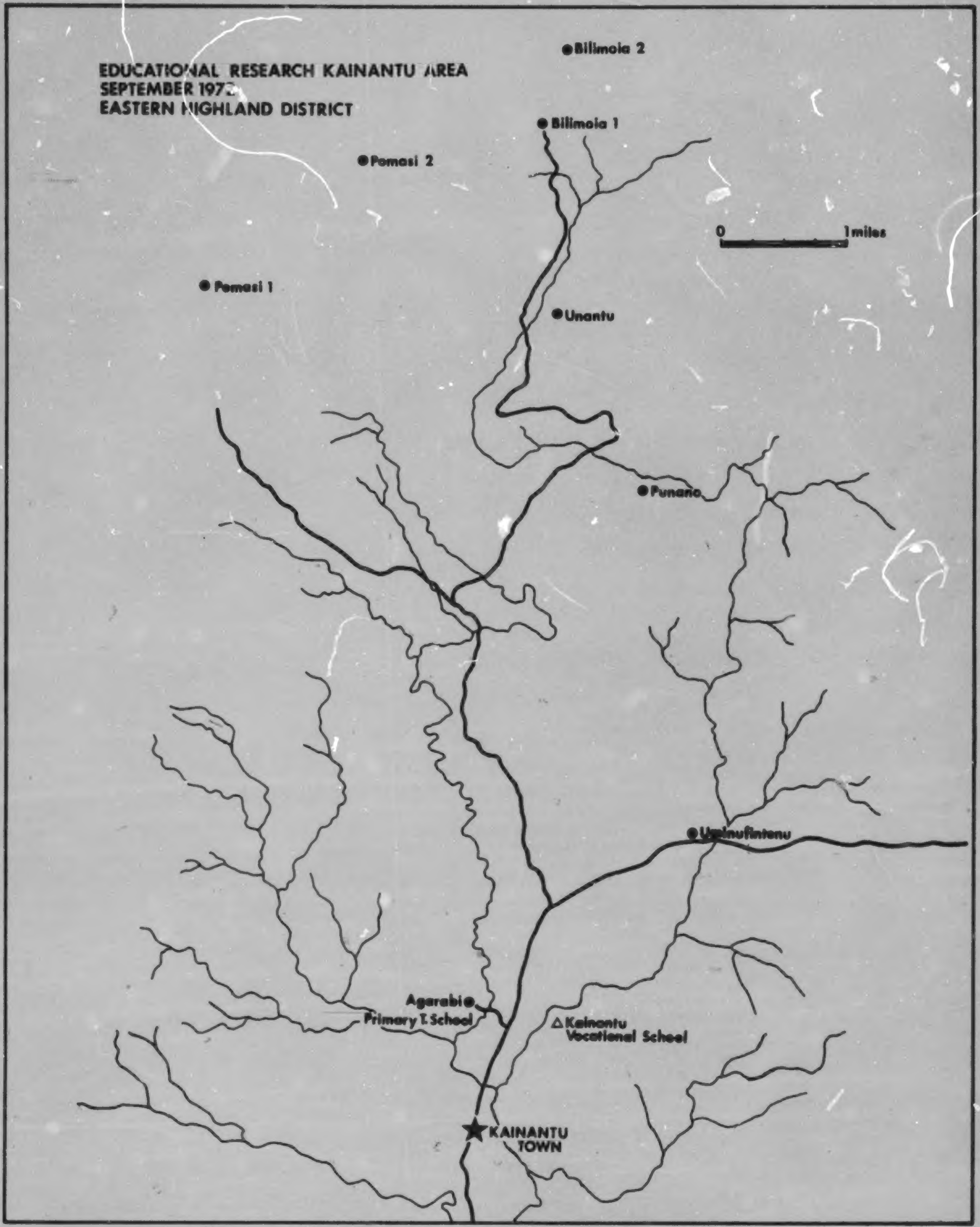
SECTION 1

ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN A RURAL HIGHLANDS AREA

1 KAINANTU SUB-DISTRICT, EASTERN HIGHLANDS


EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH KAINANTU AREA
SEPTEMBER 1972
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Bilimoia 1
Pomasi 2
Pomasi 1
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Unantu
Punano
Uyainufintenu
Agarabi
Primary T. School
Kainantu
Vocational School
KAINANTU
TOWN

MICHAEL WILSON

INTRODUCTION

The reports which follow are shortened versions of papers written by students of a basic Education course (14.124) after a week's field work in the Kainantu area during September 1972. The students lived and worked for most of the week in the villages of Unantu and Bilimoia about 8 miles north of Kainantu. Some of them undertook preliminary work in Kainantu itself.

The area was of considerable educational interest for several reasons. Firstly the school at Punano which serves the villages in which we worked had suffered a considerable loss of local support, most strikingly illustrated by a fall in enrolments, in recent years. In part this was due to the eruption of local feuds so that some Bilimoia people felt that the school was in, or at least on the edge of enemy territory. (The Bilimoia people claimed with pride that almost all other local groups were their enemies.) However there was more to this loss of support than inter-clan rivalry as even people in villages adjacent to the school had become cool towards it. The basic reason for this was difficult to ascertain but there was evidence of friction between the Headmaster of the school and the local people as represented by the school's Board of Management. The Headmaster believed the people had become obstructionist while they for their part believed that he was trying to steamroller through proposals which they did not wish to accept

The attitude of the people towards the school and towards schooling in general was complex. They had become aware of the limitations of primary education so far as educated people's ability to aid local development was concerned. The Bilimoia people in particular were preoccupied with the need to get some of their children into and through High School (something none had yet even begun) in the belief that a person with a High School education would have the real *save* to sort out their problems. (These problems related to the exploitation of local copper deposits which, although they had allowed the opening up of one small expatriate-run mine, the people were determined to preserve for their own future benefit.) Primary education of itself, as opposed to High School education, was considered to be of no direct use in the local area but of value only in towns in order to earn money to send home.

Some of the Bilimoia children walked down to the school each day but would often remain sitting on a ridge overlooking the school shouting and refusing to come down. This behaviour and simple absenteeism had resulted in many Bilimoia children (including ALL those from Bilimoia 2 which was about two hours walk from the school) being excluded from the school. This helped to feed animosity between school and local people as the school thought that the absenteeism was due to parental attitudes whereas Bilimoia parents thought their children were being expelied just for lateness. One of the truants told the writer that his father and the other parents who sent their children to school, despite fears of local feuds, thought that the children DID go to school each day and the boy said that he would be beaten if his father found out the truth. Certainly an important contributing factor in the whole situation was a breakdown in communications.

A further interesting element in the local educational situation was the Agarabi Vocational Centre which is fully described in one of the reports. The particular interest here was in a recent changeover from a traditional vocational centre curriculum including carpentry, metalwork, car mechanics etc. to one devoted extensively to agricultural training and the very strong reactions which this engendered among students at the centre. A final centre of interest was the Kainantu Local Government Council which was extremely active in the area, being involved in a multitude of local developmental and service projects.

The main strength of the reports presented here lies in the fact that the students were able to get both sides of the picture. Officials and teachers were most helpful and generous with their time in providing the groups with information and ideas. We would like to thank all those in the Kainantu area who so willingly helped in this way. At the same time the students were able to gain the confidence of the village people among whom they lived, despite the short time available. These people also willingly gave their time to long talks with members of the group and we are equally grateful to them. What emerges from the two-sided pictures thus obtained is often a marked and significant dichotomy of views, particularly between council and people, school and people, and in the case of the Agarabi Vocational Centre, staff and students.

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TONY PAIS

AGARABI VOCATIONAL CENTRE KAINANTU SUB-DISTRICT

The Agarabi Vocational Centre is situated about four miles out of the township of Kainantu on the Highlands Highway. The land and buildings now used by the Centre were once owned by the Agarabi Local Government Council. The Centre was first made a Junior Technical School and later became a Vocational Centre in 1968. The Centre has a staff of two, a European who is the Manager and a local who has had some technical training. Both live at the Centre. The Centre is financed mainly by a grant from the Central Government. Kainantu Council provide land and building. They also maintain the Centre. There are about forty students at the Centre. Most of the students were 1971 Standard Six school leavers. However, unlike other years the Centre took in some village boys this year because some of the boys had absconded from the Centre. Therefore, in order to make up the required intake the manager asked young boys from the nearby village. Most of the students are from the Kainantu Sub-District.

The subjects or trades taught at the Centre are carpentry, plumbing and welding, motor mechanic and farming. They are mainly elementary or basic courses. This year for the first time however, the manager decided to concentrate on farming. This will be more relevant to the students. Although it was the aim of the vocational school to train boys and fit them with these basic skills so that they could return to their villages the result was found to be contrary. It was found that most of the ex-students had gone into the town with the hope of getting a job. In the farming section they have a piggery and a poultry farm. Kaukau cultivation project and also a vegetable growing area has been prepared at the Basinka Extension Centre on the south eastern side of the town. The area has been ploughed up and the boys have prepared the kaukau mounds ready for planting. However, because of the prolonged drought planting was delayed. Even if they make late planting, the boys will not be ablo to get anything before the school year is up. The idea of going into farming is no doubt a good one.

Apart from planting kaukau they hoped to grow some vegetables which can bring a quick return. They anticipated to sell the vegetables and the kaukau in the local market. This farming is valuable to the boys themselves and to the Centre. Besides selling the produce to Kainantu residents they hoped to open up a market at Yonki where obviously there is a great potential for quick return.

THE ORGANISATION AT THE CENTRE

The trainees were divided into three groups or 'Companies'. These companies' headquarters are based at the Basinka Extension Centre. Four trainees from each company are selected in turn to live at the main Centre to look after the poultry and pig project. They also learn their other trades whilst they are in the main Centre. The rest of the boys live at the Extension Centre in three houses constructed by the trainees themselves. Each of these companies elect their chairman or their 'Company Manager' and a Secretary. The Company Manager acts as a liaison officer between the company and the Centre Manager. If a company needs anything such as rations for instance, they see their Manager who instructs his Secretary to write a letter to the Manager. The Company Manager takes the letter to the Centre Manager and gets what his company wants. Any grievances or requests are channelled through this communication channel.

The aim of this type of set up is to teach the boys some basic principles about the operations of business organisation and communication system. This could have been more meaningful had they produced or grown and harvested their kaukau and vegetables and sold them. This is because the Centre Manager was anticipating to go further and train or teach the trainees the basic principles about the business transactions, savings and so on.

Each company has an area of land allocated to it. They were encouraged to work the land at their own rate on a competitive basis. This is to give the trainees incentive to work at any time and also to find out which group or company really works hard. There is no time limit set as to when they should start and when they should finish. Besides these individual company blocks they also have a common area of land where everyone combines to work. The return that comes out of the yields from the product of this land will I think go to the Centre. It was anticipated that the return from the company's garden will be shared among the boys but they have to save them in the bank until they finish. This is meant that when they finished they can use that money to start their small business project.

I interviewed a number of people during the course of my research. The first group of people that I interviewed were the Kainantu Local Government Council Staff, in particular the Clerks of the Council - that is the Senior Council Clerk and his Assistant. The purpose of my interviewing them is to find out what type of assistance the council provides to the Centre and the Council's relationship with the Vocational Centre. As a result of my discussion I found out that apart from the land and building the Centre inherited and maintenance service to the Centre, the Kainantu Council have nothing to do with the Centre. As regards absorbing some of the trainees from the Centre, they replied that they had enough staff at the present time. If they employ people who come out of the Vocational Centre it will mean firing the other staff. I also spoke with two councillors, the President and the vice-President.

The next category was the staff of the Centre itself. How they see and look at Vocational Centre and the purpose it serves. Then I interviewed the trainees on the Centre. That is those trainees who are currently attending the Centre. This is to find out their aims, expectations and the motives behind them for going there. I also had discussion with the parents of those boys who come from the nearby villages. Again I sought their views and expectations particularly with regard to the value of this Vocational Centre. How they see the role of vocational centres and what it could do for their children. Finally but not the least, I talked to a trainee teacher from the Goroka Teachers College, who comes from Kainantu area, a past student from the Centre and a group of Standard Six students from the Agarabi Primary School.

EXPECTATIONS

The Education Department's policy on vocational centres is that the centres provide basic training in some of the trades that I have mentioned earlier, particularly to cater for the needs of those boys who were unsuccessful in gaining a place in High School. The training that they get from the Vocational Centre could help them to resettle back in the village.

However, let's see how this view matches with the expectations of these other people, particularly the students themselves and their parents. In reply to one of my questions the Assistant Council Clerk said that a student should be issued with some form of recognizable certificate which could enable him to go out and get a job with a company in town which would bring him money. This clearly indicates that vocational school to him meant a training for getting a job in town not for helping a person to resettle in the village. However, I further asked him if there were any students from his village who had been to this Vocational Centre; if any where they were and what they were doing. He replied that there were about five boys who had been to vocational schools and all of them were back in the village doing nothing except occasional help to their parents. They went back to the village after unsuccessful search for job in the urban area. However, he told me that he knew of a boy who had been to the Vocational Centre starting a small poultry project. That boy comes from a nearby village. Because of the distance involved I was not able to see the project myself but took what he told me for granted.

The Council President on the other hand felt that the students at the Vocational Centre should be taught agriculture. More time should be devoted to agriculture and less on other trades provided at the Centre. The Vice-President also expressed a similar opinion. In his opinion vocational school is a good thing which certainly would help the boys. However, he said most of the boys who have been to vocational centres in the past years had gone away to town areas.

The staff members of the Centre inevitably wanted to see the boys return to their villages when they finished from the Centre. Also, they would help those boys who start small profit earning projects. That is, giving further technical assistance and even help them to obtain a bank loan to improve their project.

At Barinka Extension Centre I spoke with a number of trainess. I asked them what their main aim was and what they hoped to do when they finish at the Centre. Their response was generally the same, they looked forward to go out and work for money in town. In houses number 2 and 3 the boys nearly all gave me the same answer. That is their main aim in going to vocational schools was to go there and learn about carpentry, motor mechanic and welding so that when they finish they could go to gown and get a job and earn money.

They had no intention of returning to their village. The three boys that I talked to in house I violently objected to the idea of farming introduced this year. They said that the farming training that they are getting at the Centre had no value in it. One trainee said, *'Agarabi Vocational Centre has been a good school in the past because those students who went through it had learned carpentry, plumbing and welding and motor mechanic. But for this year we are here only to hold spades and dig. What will it give us when we finish from here? Nothing, we will go back home and live like our grandparents.'* They also complained bitterly that they were not asked what they wanted to do.

The boys pointed out that their parents expected them to go out and earn money by working for whiteman in town after they finish from the vocational school. One student stated that he had to work and earn some money in order to pay back for what his parents had done for him while he was in school. That is they had paid for his education so it's his turn to look after them. He felt that he could only do that if he would worked in town. This is not a demanded obligation but it is an expected obligation. Except for the one or two students who said that they would go back to their villages, almost all students wanted to go to town areas in search for jobs to earn money.

As regards the old boys, I met one who attended the Centre last year (1971). He told me that some of his fellow students had gone into poultry and piggery farm very successfully. This was later confirmed by one of the staff members. I further asked that 1971 student why he himself was not doing something similar to those fellow students of his. His reply was that he has not enough money to buy chicken or pig to start him off. For that reason he was looking for a job in town to earn some money. Later I learned that he was working for Public Works Department but left because he was made to work as a labourer which he didn't like. This 1971 ex-student told me that some of his fellow students had gone off to Port Moresby, Lae and Goroka. Some were in the villages without doing anything that would bring them income.

All parents wanted their children to go to town and work for money. One fellow stated that he did not want his son to go back to the village. Instead he wanted him to find a job in a town area and earn money. I asked one father whether he would help his son to start a business project of his own. He replied that those children did not want to come back to the village even if we want them to. They wanted to work for whiteman. One student's parents from Kainantu village insisted that their son go into town and work for money for they themselves had not any other sources of earning money. These sorts of attitudes clearly reflect most parents' attitudes. They expect their children not to go back home.

The six Standard Six students from the Agarabi Primary School that I had spoken to all expressed their desire to return to their home villages if they do not get a place in a high school. They said that they would go to a vocational centre first then they would return to their villages. None of them said they would look for jobs in the towns. From this type of attitude I thought that the teachers must have encouraged them to return to their village. However one cannot be really certain whether their expression is their real feelings.

OPINION AND RECOMMENDATION

From the attitudes and expectations of parents and children we can see that the aim of the Education Department's policy is quite inconsistent with the attitudes and expectation. To them it is another stage in the education system. We cannot blame the children for wanting to go into town because the education system in this country is oriented to urban environment. Therefore that attitude of mind has already established itself in the minds of every child and their parents. To ask a person who had spent some years in school to return home is an insult to him and his parents. It meant we are denying the right of that individual to earn money, although he may not even get a job.

In order to remedy this situation, and alleviate the problem of urban drift the training programme in the vocational training centres should be geared to suit the rural environment. It should be oriented to rural economy. Therefore the step taken at Agarabi Vocational Centre is the most appropriate one. However, in order to achieve the aim, there should be a programme on vocational centres to explain to both parents and children the aim of the vocational centre and its training programme. In other words a reorientation of people's way of thinking. They should be told and explained the significance of the course, that is the advantages and disadvantages of the course. In order to change their thinking they should be told about the advantages and disadvantages of town life. I also think that parents should also be involved in this, they should help their children in vocational training. This will encourage children to realize the importance of the training they are receiving. It will also encourage parents to help their children to establish themselves back in the villages.

If Local Government Councils are involved in rural development, they can employ or involve some of these people as their extension workers. He must be from that village and further more he must be paid a minimal wage for this.

These are some of the ways that can be adopted to tackle the problems of present education system. It does not mean that is the solution to all our problems. Finally it is very essential that efforts should be made to find an alternative to the present education system.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the following people for their assistance and cooperation with me during my research period. Mr A. Horbs, Manager of the Agarabi Vocational Centre, his assistant, Cr Zurena the Kainantu Council President, Cr Ato, the Vice-President, Mr Henry Van Leeuwan, the senior Council Clerk, the Assistant Council Clerk, students, parents and those other who helped me while I was there. My special word of thanks to the Koyama family for their kind hospitalities.

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ANASAIN MEMORIAL

PARENTS AND CHILDREN TALK ABOUT EDUCATION

My main intention in going to Kainantu was to go to the villages and find out about the problems of primary school leavers. For this I was mainly interested to talk to the girls. I first stayed in Bilimoia No. I a village about $^3/_4$ of an hour drive from town. In that village I hardly found any girls school leavers to talk to. The next day we walked two hours to and from Bilimoia No. 2 a village further down the hill. There, too, I found no girls to interview. The following day I moved down to Unantu a village close to the Punano primary 'T' school. There I stayed for the rest of the week. While staying there, I visited Punano village as well as the primary school. At Unantu and Punano I was able to interview only two girls one from Unantu and one from Punano.

Since I didn't find many girls to interview, I made up my mind to just talk generally to the adults as well as the children on what they know or think about education. Talking to these people and also what I gathered from others while talking with my colleagues I gathered a general impression of what they know about education and what they say about it.

PARENTS' VIEW ON EDUCATION

Talking to people I gathered an overall view that people don't really understand what the purpose of education is. Mainly talking to parents with Kids in the primary school some of them wouldn't tell me why they send their kids to school. The main idea people have is for children to be educated and get a paid job. Children who go to primary school and leave school to stay at home just do equally the same things as the non-scholar at home. He might speak a few simple English words, sing a few English songs, count and read in English. With his knowledge he may talk to visitors but he can't instruct or tell to do something better than usual. That is why most parents don't appreciate their spending on children who only leave the primary school. They believe kids leaving primary school are not confident. That is they are too shy to say or do something for their parents. Not a day that a child who has been to primary school tells the parent to do something in a different or better way. I then asked the question saying - Why do kids feel shy to do things like that? Few parents said, at the first place when kids tried to do something like that they were ignored. This was simply because they were regarded as too young and mainly because they were only primary leavers and nothing more. They believe that a person with education is somebody who has gone through high school. However, I didn't come across any parents at all who have kids in high school. So I couldn't see why parents in those villages have the strong idea that their kids who go to primary should all go to high school.

Parents also complained about paying school fees because they don't see any reason why they should pay it. They pay council tax so the council should build everything for them. They don't realize the fact that the council spends more on them than it gets from them. They complained that why should they pay fees where after all their kids won't go to high school. They don't understand that what they pay to the school is still not enough to pay for books, teachers and other things.

Most parents don't understand what their kids learn at school, that what their kids learn at school is just general education which can also be a help to them in the village. Such knowledge as counting and so on. They have the idea that their kids only learn things that enable them to go to high school. I would think something practical learned in primary school would be something for the parents to see. Things like learning to run a business. About two or four parents suggested that those parents who run small businesses like tradestore and passenger truck or coffee plantation could be the ones sending their kids to school in order to learn more and better ways and come and show the parents.

Most mothers said they wouldn't dream of sending their daughters to school. Their daughters are more important to them than being educated. Fathers stopped daughters from school because they are more important in the village. They are very useful by helping parents and caring for them during their old age. They can't afford to lose their daughters because if girls are educated they won't come back to their area. They would go and marry men from other areas. They believe that education detaches girls from their home and culture. These ideas show us that parents haven't really understood what education is.

However, there are some parents who don't mind their daughters being educated. These parents said that girls who leave school should come and help women on things like sewing and cooking in other ways. These none of the girls have done. Their ideas of kids coming to help villagers could really involve community education where children and adults are brought together to help each other.

CHILDREN'S VIEW ON EDUCATION - BOYS' VIEW

Unlike the girls most boys go to school. From Bilimoia No. I about 12 boys go to school but no girls at all. From Unantu few boys with no girls at all. From Punano which is where the school is the majority of boys in school are from there and all the girls in school are also from there. Boys themselves want to gain education. However, they don't want to just leave school at primary level. They want to continue on at high school or vocational school and get a paid job. They would prefer to work in town rather than going back to the village. Most boys want to work as carpenters, drivers, storekeepers and clerks. This is surprising because none of the boys mentioned such high qualified jobs as teachers and patrol officers that need higher education. This is probably because they haven't seen anybody from their area actually doing this job.

The boys themselves regarded what they learn in the primary school as nothing so they don't apply what they learn at home. Boys are very keen to continue on to high school. However even though they are keen on education they don't seem to be keen on turning up to school every day. So there is a conflict between boys being keen in going to high school and their laziness in coming to school.

GIRLS' VIEW

With the girls I found it difficult to communicate with most of them. Most girls I came across don't either speak English or Pidgin. I tried my best and managed to talk to six girls. Of these six girls two left school, one had never been to school at all and three are still in school. On the two who left school one left Standard IV was too lazy to continue. The other failed her Standard VI. Both girls liked craft while they were still at school but they don't continue it in the village. Probably they would do it if someone like the adult education group or Welfare Officer would come and help them along with it showing them more ways of doing it. They just don't have the materials or someone to start it going. Both can read and write in English, Pidgin and vernacular. Kantoso, who left Standard VI, reads magazines, Bible and 'Our News' almost every day and writes letters to friends nearly every week. She listens to the radio for traditional music nearly every day too. She works for a European lady teacher so she has a chance of doing these things while Mounke doesn't have the chance to do them. She hardly reads and writes at all. Village people don't ask her for help but they do ask Kantoso. Kantoso helps them to write letters, play games and count or calculate things.

They both are very useful to their parents by working in the garden and so on. They are glad they went to school because they can read and write unlike the other girls. Both would prefer getting a paid job because they are tired of working in the garden. They would prefer working and staying in towns like Port Moresby, Rabaul and Kainantu. They think they would be happier in town than they are in the village. They would prefer spending their wage or salary on tinned food, clothes and building a permanent house.

Yoke, who didn't have the chance to go to school, regrets the fact that she didn't go to school and learn to speak English like Kantoso. She did want to go to school herself but her parents wouldn't allow her to go because she was the elder in the family and also they didn't have any money to support her. However, she is just as happy in the village.

The three girls who are in school now are glad they are in school because they don't want to work hard in the village. They are all looking forward to go on to Standard VI then go to high school. They don't want to go back home and work hard in the garden. They are mainly interested in education to go on to high school and get a paid job or avoid hard work in the village. They are not so keen in applying their knowledge back in the village.

PARENTS' EXPECTATION OF CHILDREN

From what I gathered parents don't really have any clear expectation of education. That is they don't know how much qualification a person would have in order to get such amount of money. Asking people what they expect out of the amount of money spent on their children in return, some said they don't really expect anything from them but it's up to the kid, if he wants to give something to his parents later in their bad time or old age. This is probably because they haven't seen anybody getting salary and giving some to the parents.

However, a few parents in those villages have sons in Rabaul, Port Moresby and Bougainville. They wouldn't tell me what these people are working on but I guess they are with the Highlands Labour Scheme or doing labour work. The parents who have experienced their sons sending them money and things do expect things from their children who are still at school. Not necessarily to get money out of high qualified job. As long as they send them some money. A third group of people like the former councillor at Unantu who have been to other towns have a different point of view. He himself hasn't got a child in school but he with a few others said they would prefer their kids to get a good job and earn good money. They wouldn't want their kids to be drivers or storekeepers. Also if their kids have good knowledge they would expect them to come home and help the villagers in doing things in better or more appropriate ways, such as ways of running business and so on.

The attendance at school is very low because of the difficulties that parents and kids face. From Bilimoia No. 2 none of the children is in school at all. A few have been but unfortunately gave up. From Bilimoia No. I only about twelve boys turn up to school of which about five to six make an attempt to turn up alternately each day. From Unantu, while I was there about six to seven boys turn up alternately each day. From Punano, the majority of the children at the school are

Bilimoia No. 1 Village

from there. However, that doesn't mean that all the children are in school. That's only the minority but the majority are at home. The main difficulties of Bilimoia No. 1 and No. 2 are the distance, traditional enemies and school fees. From Bilimoia No. 2 at the beginning of this year there were about four to five boys attempted going but all have given up. The village is right down among the hills and the kids have difficulties climbing up and down. Some were sent out by teachers probably for being so late all the time or missing the school for at least 80 days. In addition people are also scared of their traditional enemies so they stopped their kids. Bilimoia No. 1 is also quite a distance from school. However, many places in Papua New Guinea have their primary schools a longer way from the villages. The Bilimoia No. 1 are also scared of traditional enemies like Bilimoia No. 2. There was a case where a boy died at Bilimoia No. 1 after six days from school. It was strongly believed that enemies from the other village poisoned him. Another of their difficulties is money. Most of them said they don't have coffee and other business where they can easily get money from to pay school fees.

Just like the Bilimoias the Unantu and Punano people have difficulties of paying fees and traditional enemies. There's no coffee for most people where they could earn some money. Some of these people argued that why should they spend their money on their children when after all they will only leave primary school. Some parents are hard on their children to come to school but it's the children themselves who don't wake up to themselves. While I was in the village I asked two boys why they didn't go to school that day. One of them said he didn't repair the fence that morning so his mother didn't give him any breakfast and so he decided to stay away from school. The other one said they didn't have any food in the garden and so he helped his mother look for some.

So another difficulty would be food. Kids can't go to school unless they are properly fed. However there are some cases when kids were properly fed and still stay away from school. The headmaster told us some of these kids come and sit under the trees closest to the school where they can be seen by teachers and children. The headteacher has been trying to chase them but they still continue. He said it is plainly playing fool of themselves because they couldn't care less. The headmaster himself has tried to keep good attendance of the kids but has also given up. He went to the villages to talk to parents whose kids didn't always turn up to school. Parents and kids listened for the first time then gradually gave up. His second attempt was he put up a committee from each village to be responsible for putting kids into school. This went for about one or two weeks then stopped except for Bilimoia No. I who went on for nearly the whole of one term.

However, I would say that what the headmaster is trying to do is not enough with the villagers at all. I would say a good relationship between teachers and parents would help in some ways. Teachers should make an attempt and get used to the people. Villagers like those who haven't really understood what education is would need people to explain things to them. Teachers should pay visits to the villagers in the afternoon or evenings talking to parents. Not usually in school matters but just to make some friendly relationship with outsiders. During these informal visits teachers could tell stories on what kids learn in school, their importance and even ask parents what they would like their kids to learn. Here parents would understand things and have close contact with teachers. They might then feel some obligation of being hard on their children to go to school. Teachers might also explain things like the importance of girls when they are educated. This is one of the things parents and kids haven't really understood. If you ask the question *'Why is your daughter not at school?'* you would get such answers as *'Useful in the village'; 'Education detaches girls from the cultural area'; 'Not many jobs for them and boys have the first priority when there's not enough money to pay school fees.'* People say things like these because they haven't seen any result of girls being educated.

CONCLUSION: COMPARING WITH THE SITUATION IN THE GAZELLE

Comparing my area (the Gazelle Peninsula) with the villages I visited, parents in those villages haven't faced the same problems of school leavers as parents in my area. The school leavers in my area are mainly those who are Standard VI 'dropouts'. That is those who fail Standard VI examination or those who can't afford to pay high school fees as it is now increasing. Those type of leavers where kids are believed to fail examination brings about several tragedies. It brings about shame and frustration to both parents and children. The result of shame and frustration would be trying to commit suicide by the child himself, parents hitting the child very badly, parents scolding teachers and consulting district superintendent if their child hasn't been chosen to high school. Some of these things I've mentioned had actually happened in my area. We had a case in a village close to my village where a child was really ashamed because he wasn't chosen to high school. This child had topped a few classes in his primary classes. When it came to the final examination he wasn't chosen to go to high school. His parents had to really look after him because he was trying to damage himself. His parents went to consult the Councillor on this matter. The councillor went with them to the District Superintendent. The Superintendent went and saw his Standard VI teacher. There was also a quarrel between some villagers and the teachers. This has been happening several times. It mainly occurs to people who put strong belief on their child to go to high school or to parents who have wasted a lot on the child. But still others who have 'dropout' children scolded their kids, especially at times when the child asks for money. After selection for high school has been done, everywhere you go in the village you hear people talking in groups of why their kids haven't been chosen to high school. Usually the blame is on the teachers. Parents mainly complained on this matter because their 'dropout' children are not fit to do most things at home. Probably they are too young or too big headed to listen to the parents. Also some kids forget some traditional culture quickly and so can't really take part at home. When he is useless in the village he goes to town looking for paid job. Finding no job he causes crime like stealing and raping.

The villagers whom I visited still haven't come to the same problems. The only school leavers are Standard I up to IV children. These are mainly those stopped by parents for the difficulties I've mentioned or kicked out of school by the headteacher or child being too lazy to continue himself. You wouldn't hear much of parents complaining about their kids not being chosen to high school. They haven't got into the situation of shame and frustration because of their school leavers. They joined the mob at home easily because they play together in the afternoon while others come home from school or during days when they don't go to school. They grow up together again at home and either go into town and work as a labourer or join the Highlands Scheme to work in plantations. Whereas school leavers in my area no longer want to join the labour line.

RISIEPA OKONA

POLITICAL EDUCATION

From what I learnt in the Highlands I can confidently say that so far political education, which is aimed at getting the people to realize such terms as independence, self-government, political parties, House of Assembly and so forth has not achieved its goals and will not achieve them if the objectives are pursued in the same way.

The definition of House of Assembly given to me by one of the old villagers is as follows. *'House of Assembly is one of the rooms of a very big house in Port Moresby* [which they think is the land of Europeans]. *In each of these rooms there are snakes, broken bottles and many harmful things. Most of these rooms are dark and damp. Only the House of Assembly room is good and got lights on. And it is situated somewhere in the centre of the rest of the harmful rooms. To get there one must be really strong, fearless and clever, otherwise he is just hopeless.'* It is believed that once you are there you can be rich. So when they see their member of the House of Assembly owning a car or spending a lot of money in the pub they rightly claim that he is one of the successful ones who fought his way to the House. They expect him to share his riches with his people so you often hear such comments as *'He never picks us on his car or truck without paying for it. He wouldn't have owned those unless we elected him'*. When I asked that old man where he got his idea about House of Assembly being a maze of harmful rooms he told me that one of the men who was a candidate for the first House of Assembly elections told the village people when compaigning for the election. When I asked him to tell me his opinion about self-government and to define what self-government meant he told me that he didn't want self government because when the Local Government Council came into being he is compelled to pay council tax from his meagre income. He thinks that when self-government comes he would be forced with gun point to pay tax. He also thinks that if we get self-government all the Europeans will get out of this country and leave us in chaos. He told me that if we get self-government our country will be invaded by some external forces. When I asked him if he could tell me which external forces will invade us he said, *'Indosia'* for Indonesia. When I wanted to know where he got that idea he told me that is what almost everybody in the village believes.

To compare elder peoples' belief with the new generation I asked one of the Standard Three dropouts or rather push-outs what he thinks about the House of Assembly. He told me that during his school days before entering the classroom they had to have an assembly outside the classroom where they had their hands inspected and where they had to sing the British National Anthem. He told me that House of Assembly is where leaders of each electorate assemble in a house to have themselves inspected and spend their time singing the British National Anthem. When the time comes for them to leave for their electorates their teacher, Michael Somare, tells them to teach the people in the village what they have learnt. He thinks the members have failed to carry out their duty. He is still a small child of about 12 or 13 and that is his concept of House of Assembly.

We can see that though it is logical in comparison to what he learnt at school it is a wrong conclusion. When I asked a Standard Six student in the village to tell me what he knows about House of

Assembly he said that the House of Assembly is a National Local Government Council. He pointed out that Kainantu Local Government Council is for Kainantu electorate but the House of Assembly is for Papua New Guinea as a whole. I am using this illustration to show the differing explanations given by each of the three different categories of people in educational hierarchy or differing knowledge opportunities.

Risiepa Okona and Anasain Memorial talking to people at Bilimoia No. 2 Village.

At present the government runs political education through radio broadcasts, newspapers, public servants such as agricultural officers, teachers and Administration Officers (kiaps) and the politicians. As far as I see, all these are quite ineffective because in the villages I have seen people more interested in listening to the western or local music rather than the broadcast on politics. Besides only one or two fortunate people in the villages own radios. Those people who do read newspapers are mostly urban dwellers who know some of the political terms and political situations anyhow. It is said that expatriate public servants who carry out political education tend to give one side of the story. For instance the disadvantage side of self-government and independence such as, *'Europeans will leave this country if self-government comes or there will be tribal warfare and chaos.'* This makes the people very scared of self-government and independence because they don't want to be responsible for what happens or be effected by it. The people in the villages expect their elected representative in the House of Assembly to go back home and explain to them the meaning of the political terms we often hear and to tell them what he has done in the House for his people in the electorate. But the trouble is, more than half the politicians don't know what all these things mean themselves so if they do try to tell the people something on politics they tell them the wrong thing. Some feel scared of telling them wrong stories so spend their time in their own villages or in pubs buying drinks for their supporters and sympathisers. When people in the village heard that we came from Port Moresby and particularly from a big institution in Port Moresby called,University they concluded that I must know everything. Though our purpose for being up there was not to preach politics but rather to hear what the people have to say about them, I was insisted to explain the political terms and other things such as why prices of coffee and other cash crops go up and down. Fortunately I learnt the political terms or concept of self-government and so forth during my first semester. So I was able to explain to them what all these things mean, its advantage and disadvantage. To get the message across to the people you have to integrate yourself with the village community. In this way you establish confidence between you and the village community, then start preaching or inquiring on what they know about which you want to find out. I used this simple perceivable illustration to convey the meaning of self-government and independence. *'A young unmarried man living off his parents and abiding his parents rules is like us depending on Australia and abiding Australian rules. When he gets married his parents recognize him as man. This is like* *getting self-government. He can then decide whether to be interdependent with his parents or independent from his parents, if he wishes to be interdependent then this is what he should do but if he wants to be independent from his parents he can do that too. It's up to us to decide.'* This is the kind of ways I tried to convey political education. By the look on the faces of the people I could guess that they got the message. Whether they still remember this or not is yet to be found out. If it works then I think University students and students from other territory institutions must be assigned to carry out political education in the way I tried to do.

Finally, what good is knowing the political terms and political situations going to do for the people? Well, firstly they are going to realize that they are not isolated from rest of the world. Whatever happens in one part of the world is inevitably going to effect their country and their lives in some ways. So they will be prepared for whatever happens. Secondly their doubts about the meaning of the words or concepts have been cleared and so their knowledge have been broadened. This will enable them to cope with this competitive world.

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UTULA SAMANA

LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS AND THE SCHOOL LEAVER PROBLEM

Having selected the Local Government Council as an assumed focal institution at the local level, the writer set out to find whether this particular body could contribute in some ways to solving the problems of school leavers in its own locality.

The writer used questionnaires, interviews on group and individual basis, informal discussions and general observations to collect information. One hundred sheets of 15 questions were prepared directed to give some light on the kind of people engaged in the Local Government Council work, their ethnicity, educational qualification, degree of experience (criterion based on travel and work experiences), and their understanding of the functions of the Local Government Council and what they expect from such an institution and what they thought of its present activities. The same questionnaires were utilized to gather the views of the people and their attitudes towards the Council in the village of Unantu and around Kainantu. Questions were also asked to find the economic aspects of things within the area.

Two days of the research week were spent in the town of Kainantu to gather information about the Council and its activities. Most of what was gathered came from Henry Van Leeuwen an expatriate Council Clerk. His assistant was also interviewed. While at the town, the writer met the Council President, Mr Zurena, but due to his ill-health no discussion took place. The writer was unable to contact the councillors because most of them were back in their villages. This made it difficult to gather the views of the village Councillors. Only one Councillor was interviewed. After 2 days at the township of Kainantu, the writer spent 2½ days in the village of Unantu about 7 miles northwest of Kainantu. In the village the writer (using the questionnaires) interviewed some children from the Agarabi Vocational School, and the Punano Primary 'T' School. The interview conducted at Punano Primary School was group interview involving standard 4 and 5 cuildren numbering up to 32. The teachers of Punano Primary School were all interviewed. An interview was also conducted with the Headteacher of Agarabi Primary 'T' School and the Deputy Head of Kainantu Primary School. Having returned from the research, the writer had some informal discussions with some students from the Tariora and Agarabi Census Divisions of Kainantu, here at the University, to gather further information about the area.

At this point we can establish certain facts about the Council and its operation so far in the past two years of its existence. Firstly, it appears that the Council institution is complex and is benefiting the local people by providing job opportunities in the area. Secondly, the Council appears to be a focal institution as assumed, involving people in matters of their concern and is functioning more as an agent for rural development by way of extending its social services and means of communication particularly for trade and commerce.

Thirdly, the Council itself has shown initiative in providing most of its income for developmental projects. It appears, however, that the entire engineering of the Council is in the hands of a single man, the Council Clerk. Despite the gradual progression the Council is making, there are certain obstacles that hinder rural development. Of the many, a few are discussed in the following.

PROBLEMS OF COUNCIL AND PEOPLE

One of the biggest problems as seen in the area that impedes rural development is the peoples' negative attitude towards the Council and its activities. The Senior Council Clerk expressed the view that most of the villagers are apathetic and project a sense of indifference and in some cases anti-Council. The attitude of the people as reported by the Council Clerk is that: *'We* [the people] *do the tax paying and you* [the Council] *do the work!'* In other words, the peoples' feeling is that they are paying tax to the Council, therefore, the Council should do everything for them.

To consider the people's view, we shall examine some of the responses made at Unantu. Most people interviewed in this village stated that they were not satisfied with the $7.00 Head Tax. It was too much from their point of view.

'I pay $7.00 tax to the Council and left with nothing', responded Piake the ex-Councillor. *'How can I replace my ragged clothes - how can I afford to buy and cater for my family's needs and the household amenities? I am growing old and losing strength. Perhaps the Council wants me to turn back and put on my grandfather's "pulpul" around my waist.'* It appears here that the people have difficulties in paying their Council tax and even school fees as indicated by the pupils of Punano Primary 'T' School. The peoples' incapability of meeting the demands of Council tax and even fees seems to be one of the reasons for their dissatisfaction. This may be due to the economic state of Unantu. If the Unantu villagers are basically subsistence farmers, and if their production output is low and their market outlet is limited to bring sufficient cash in their hands, how do we expect them to pay Council tax and school fees at the rate that they cannot meet? Further more, the Council is imposing the same rate of tax on the white and Niuginian wage earners in Kainantu and the villagers. This appears to be unfair because many expatriate population on high salaries get away with only $7.00 to

pay annually while the villagers appear to show difficulties in paying their taxes. Another reason for the peoples' (Unantu) dissatisfaction is due to the Council's activities. Some people of Unantu feel that the Council is not helping them at all. A discussion with Piake and a group of elderly men showed a common feeling of fear and insecurity. Piake stated that the Council has done a lot for them; however, there were some things that did not please him and his people. He said that the Council has not resolved tribal conflicts and has not restored peace.

In a recent fight, involving Unantu and Aiyamontina, two lives were lost. (This may have been one of the reasons why Piake was put out of office as a Councillor after having been a tultul for 29 years and a Councillor for 10 years.) The above conflict has revived a traditional land feud between the two villages and this has created a sense of fear and distrust among the village people. Irrespective of this conflict situation the Council has built an aid post at Aiyamontina and expect the Unantus to cross enemy territory to get medical treatment. To the Unantus the Council is very much unfair and not just. This is a problem not only for the people but also the Council. Already we have cited two main problems the institution and the people are facing. One, is the problem of integration, manifested in the conflict between the Council's broad view of society and the peoples' parochialism. Two, is the people's dissatisfaction with the Council Tax. The peoples' incapability of meeting the tax demand compels us to question further the economic state of the area. A brief outline on economic resources and development, therefore, should throw some light on the question.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT

The major economic resource in the area appears to be coffee. However, there is a lack of participation on the part of the local people in developing this particular commodity. The area where the writer was residing had only about 4 - 5 coffee gardens most of them were very small. A student of this University, from Kainantu village number I, mentioned that his people grow and harvest coffee when there is a demand for money. Most of the local people in the villages are subsistence farmers. In general, there is a lack of participation in the monetary economy on the part of the local villagers. Most of their agricultural crops and resources are underdeveloped in the criterion of production for commercial purposes. The Council is giving some assistance as we have seen. In the Unantu-Bilimoia and Punano area, the Council has successfully constructed a road and has given the people access to outside market, especially the Kainantu Town. Whether the people use this road for economic purpose is another question.

The new ventures require new skills and new knowledge for their operation. Lack of knowledge and skills could be a discouraging factor and an obstacle for economic development. How do we expect a white man to paddle a canoe with poles up the swift flowing Waria River, if he has no clue of handling the task? Just the same, a local villager needs to know the basic mechanics of handling economic ventures. A villager at Unantu claimed that the companies were cheating him when he met the problem of coffee price fluctuations. The influence of international trade on local market is a problem which could be a discouraging factor if it is not understood. Piake assumed that the soil around Unantu is not good for coffee. This may be true. On the other hand, a lack of knowledge in tending coffee gardens could also result in poor yield.

The Council has shown some initiative by providing two Forestry Extension Officers to help the people. However, can two people cater for the needs of over 40,000 people and several hundred villages? Certainly there is a need for skilled manpower for rural development. It appears that the problem of skilled manpower, not in the sense of expertise, but knowledge applicable to rural development is of great importance. Cannot the Council harness the manpower resources that are being wasted in the present education system, namely the primary school dropouts? This question leads me to the problem of school dropouts and what contributions the council can offer - which is the main objective of this paper.

SCHOOL DROPOUTS - COUNCIL'S CONTRIBUTION

The objective of this study was to find some ways in which the Local Government Council can help the school leavers. While it is felt and understood generally that school leavers and dropouts is a nation-wide concern, it is important, however, to ask whether it is a problem in any particular locality. If it is, then we ask another question: To what extent is this problem affecting the lives of individuals? To answer the former, in relation to Kainantu, we need to look at the responses of the various sectors of the community within the Sub-District.

It was gathered that the Local Government Councillors did and do express their concern on the problems of school leavers. The villagers of Unantu did express their concern on the matter. A dead silence followed when the Standard 4 and 5 pupils of Punano Primary 'T' School were asked what they would do after having completed Standard 6. The writer was told that most of them would want to go to high school but are uncertain about the future. Only one out of the 32 indicated his intention of going to high school. Some responded that they would go to a vocational school if they could set up a small 'bisnis', or join the 'carpenters'. A student of Agarabi Vocational School mentioned that he would go to Yonki and get a job as a carpenter after his training. One student in particular, stated clearly that he did not like garden work because it was laborious and that he was not satisfied with village life. Generally speaking most of the children who left school or who are still schooling or those who have attained some kind of education aspire to wage employment. They would prefer the town rather than the village in search of work.

For most of them the chances are limited. Not only do the parents and children sense the problem but the local authorities as well. It was gathered that the A.D.C. wrote a letter to Reverend Goldheart, whether the Lutheran Church should allow Administration school dropouts to continue their education in church schools. Just recently, a pottery school has been erected by the Council in Kainantu Town. One of its objectives is to help school leavers attain some kind of skill or vocation. These facts do indicate that Kainantu is no exception. It does face the problem of school leavers or dropouts. Proceeding on we ask a second question: What is the extent of this problem? The amount of information gathered does not allow for an accurate answer. Here, a generalization is offered. Generally speaking, the school leavers' problem at Kainantu, perhaps, is not as bad as the problems faced in urban centres like Port Moresby and Lae. A Tairora student at the University of Papua New Guinea stated that primary school leavers are not a real problem in *his* area - because there are not many primary schools to produce more dropouts.

Nevertheless, the problem will intensify as time goes on, if nothing is done about remedying the situation. Has the Local Government Council taken any steps in helping the present school leavers or dropouts? The Council has not taken direct steps to aid school leavers. Indirectly, the Council has been helping by erecting the Vocational School and a pottery school and perhaps through its financial aid in adult education. However, the writer feels that buildings will not solve the problems, instead it will produce more dissatisfied people. Even building of youth centres will not really satisfy the dropouts. Why hasn't the Council engaged itself in aiding school leavers? Several possible answers could be supplied here. Firstly, the Council may feel that the responsibility is in the hands of the Department of Education. Secondly the Council may be preoccupied with other developmental objectives as its priorities - and not school leavers. Can the Council help in any way? The Council can help in many ways by harnessing the manpower resources, now wasted in the present education system, in its own developmental projects and programme for rural development. Some sort of training programme is desirable to provide the manpower needed for rural development. There are two main problems the Council is bound to face if it tries to harness the school leavers and the Community. One is that the aspirations of school leavers and the parents and the Council may not agree. In other words the present attitudes of leavers, primary school pupils, and parents of wanting their 'schooled' children to enter the urban monetary sector of life is bound to clash with the Council's rural oriented programme. The existing concept of education and the aspirations are deceptive to the majority who find themselves unable to fit in the urban sector of life and at the same time neglect the village and its land. The conception is that education means escaping the hardships of village life and sitting comfortably behind the desk - with less work but a lot of money. If this cargo cultist view of education is not up-rooted we are bound to create more problems than ever before.

The second problem lies in the organization of schools and the education system. The education system and its organization appear to be remote to the community and the Council. The fact that people cannot utilize the Council in order to have a say in the education system, loses the focality of the Council, and therefore projects the education system clearly as an imposition.

CONCLUSION

Do we have to let our people continue as slaves of the system and their own aspirations? Certainly not! The intention was and still is that we must somehow solve the problem. Taking the Local Government Council as an assumed focal institution, we have set to find out some ways in which this institution can help. So far, we have discovered that the Kainantu Local Government Council is a potential agent for rural development - despite the negative attitudes of the people. It appears, however, that the Council and the villagers need skilled manpower and general knowledge necessary for the development of their own locality. It was seen that the local Government Council would be able to mobilize school leavers and even villagers in its manpower training and development programme. Nevertheless, the present conception of education and the aspiration of the people appear to be possible obstacles to undertaking such a programme.

Furthermore, the schools and their organization are remote to the work of the Council and the problems of the village community.

To conclude, therefore, the writer makes two propositions which in his opinion would ease the problems of school leavers and drop-outs and even the village community as a whole. First, the people must understand and come to some realization that not *all* of their children will go to high schools. Furthermore, not *all* will be absorbed into the urban monetary sector of life. We must be realistic here and preach the realities of the situation - and our people must be realistic on the other hand to realize the realities of their own situation. It will be a cruel thing for us to let our people continue with an unrealistic view of education and of development. The alternative is to create an ideology for community development - particularly the village community. This can be done by analysing the peoples' basic needs and aspiration and *rooting out* conceptions that are deceptive and replacing them with ideologies that are more real in our situation for development. The Tanzanian ideology of ***Self-Reliance*** is a case in example. It serves the people to develop their own resources than to depend from outside aid. The philosophy of Self-Reliance and its application in education helps people to realize the realities of their situation rather than *escaping*. The current theme of *'Education for Community Living'* in Papua New Guinea appears to be desirable. The theme pre-supposes the idea that education is oriented towards community development and living.

The second proposition is to demolish the present education system and devise a system that would be integrated with the life of the community and be compatible to the theme of *'Education for Community Living'*. A system which would include the work of the Local Government Council, and the Community and various other organizations that are concerned with improving the lives and the standards of the people - which includes the school leavers. The schools will not have to be remote. They will be working together with community and the Council. The Local Council will then be able to help those who finish primary schools by obsorbing them into its own training programme for rural and village development. The question of devising a system remains to be pursued.

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RAYMOND SINADE

ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION IN THE KAINANTU AREA

My findings at Kainantu reveal people invest because they expect a return from their investment projects. Here we are mainly concerned with an investment in education. While in the Kainantu area I asked people questions concerning education and some of these questions are as follows:

(9) *Why did you send your children to school?*

(10) *How do you earn the necessary school fees for the children's education?*

(23) *Are you glad your children are at school? and why?*

(24) *If your children had a paid job as they leave school, what would you like them to spend their money on?*

My interpretation of the answers is that parents of school children regard education as an investment rather than a mere consumption good. One or part of my written answers to question nine states *'Em bai kisim tingting finish bai kan helpim mitupela mama na papa bilong em long ples.' 'Na tu ol narapela manki i go long school na nogut em i stap long ples.'*

The answer quoted above is proof enough that people regard education as an investment. A corporal in the police force at Kainantu complained he hardly has any money to purchase new clothes let alone investing in education. For him it seems impossible to live. He has six children and to make matters worse he explained he has to pay $30 for the two children at the secondary school at Goroka not mentioning the primary school children that he has to worry about. He was one of the many people who gave the same complaints when I asked for general comments after every interview. In general the results from my trip show that the village people realize that by investing in education, an improvement is being made on the quality of the labour force which, as some of the people that I interviewed said and realized, can have dramatic effects on the economy as a whole. One answer to my question (Ques. 9) in fact reads: *'Get educated as we all need it and Papua New Guinea as a whole need it to develop faster.'* So the people are not unaware of the effects of education both on the individual and for the economy on the whole.

The income of the area does not allow some parents of school children to invest in education from which they observe the effects of the undesirable output of education. That is the school dropout problem. Hence any idea of sending children to school may seem to some parents both uneconomical and socially undesirable. Answers to question 13 *(How hard is it for you to pay such amounts?)* reveal that the income of the country is much below what one may describe as being equally distributed. To illustrate the above point I will write down two separate answers to question 13 to compare the difference between person (a) being in the village and (b) in the town. The answers are as follows:

(a) *It is very hard for the father to be able to afford to send the child to school, especially in this year because of the hot and continually dry weather for any income to be yielded from coffee at all.'* But the father says he wants his child to go on to secondary school - no matter what.

(b) *'No problems'.*

As mentioned, the answer here is given by a local public servant at Kainantu. The difference between these two answers undoubtedly shows the effects of the unequal distribution of the income of the country. Both answers however show the typical attitude and expectations from the investment in education - and this shows through clearly in the answers from person (a). The expectations are so high that when parents discover that their children cannot attend high school, they are discouraged to such a degree that future investment in education is uneconomical to them. Many parents commented that the school dropouts are just humbugs with too much intelligence to stay at home and for that matter to be of any help at all. They seem to cause trouble wherever they go. Some of the primary and secondary school dropouts end up in vocational schools, but parents do not see any value of the skills learnt in these centres. Skills such as carpentry or welding are not much use in the village situation.

Comments of the two headmasters ran along similar ideas as these. Parents pay school fees and think they can now sit back and relax, their job is done. When asked to finance anything at the school - they say *'Oh the Council will pay, because our taxes are there with the Council.'* Parents seem keen when asked if they wanted the child at school, but they take no practical step to encourage the child to attend school. Examples such as children staying on the hills around Punano school is not exactly discouraged by parents as one of the teachers at Punano commented to us on our visit there. Much of what the parents agree upon in an occasional meeting with the school staff is never done. All school facilities are paid for by the Administration. To most village parents, the provision of the school is a must. But what they are doing to help leaves little to be talked about.

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RALPH WARI

PARENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF EDUCATION

This paper is the discussion of the results obtained from interviews carried out at Unantu village just outside Kainantu town and also Kainantu town itself. Seven families were interviewed in Unantu village and eight in Kainantu town. The main aim was to try and find out if there were differences between urban parents and rural parents in expectations of education. The interview was carried out between the 18th of September 1972 and the 22nd of September 1972.

I used fifteen questions to get the information I thought I might get. These questions were to try and answer three main questions. What do the parents think education is for? What kind of expectations do the parents have for education? If there are expectations are there differences between parents in the urban area and those in the rural area?

In a very general way during the time of the interview all parents interviewed indicated that schooling or education for that matter was good for the whole society and for the children because it helps the bettering of living standards. Time and time again my interpreter in Unantu village said that the schools are good because the children will get in his own words *'gutpela save'* and help the village and help the parents. There is no better way I could translate that phrase but I thought *'good knowledge'* was the equivalent. Having gained good knowledge the children are expected to get jobs and ultimately get good money to bring home. About half of the time spent on one interview this is being talked about. Besides this 62% of the town families expressed that if the children go to school they will learn to run our country better. In contrast the village parents have expressed that schools open up everything like reading and writing and you know about whiteman's way of life.

In the question of school fees the same reason is seen in the answers. More than half of village parents said that the children would bring the skills that they acquire and improve the village. Others expressed that they pay the school fees because they like their children to live better lives than them in future like whitemen.

Among the town parents it was quite different. Whether it is the result of better understanding of the education I do not know because the parents interviewed in town have not gone to primary schools even. However, the opinion was different at any rate. Those who said the school fees were good because they like to see the children educated were two,and five also gave the same reason but also said they find it hard because they have too many children. The different answer to this was the reason for helping the school and the Education Department expressed by three. They indicated that they help the school and the Education Department to get the necessary equipment for the school. This could be a result of Parents and Citizen Association influence because they have this in Kainantu primary school. Parents and Citizen or rather Management Board Committee in Punano school where Unantu village children go failed according to the head teacher.

The importance of education or schools was expressed further when I asked if it was always necessary for one to go to school first if he wanted to start a small business or any business. Once again here we see a big difference in opinion where 100% of the village parents said it was very necessary for one to school first to begin any business. On the other hand the town parents were divided into three groups where five said one must go to school first to get a good job to earn some money and acquire knowledge to begin a business. While one of them said anybody could do it and to put it in his own words: *'Sapos man i gat gutpela hed em i ken ino man i gat save tasol.'* The other one indicated that both the educated and non-educated could start business as long as one has interest and money to begin with.

I think the town parents were or are very concerned about their children's standard of education. 100% of them indicated that they are prepared to pay for the schooling and would like to see their children go beyond secondary schooling even to University. However, I think one interesting point came up in this question where one father expressed that he would not send female children to go beyond High school for he said they start to be smart after that. They wear mini skirts and show off. This man has been to Moresby a few times and has seen what goes on. The idea was expressed by many fathers in this term: *'Save bilong em i tok emi ken go mo yet.'* On the contrary the village parents in this question split into two, 2 expressed that after secondary schooling they would like them to get jobs, while 5 indicated that the children can go as far as they can. The follow-up of the general expectation of getting a good job and good pay is again expressed here where parents I think are seen to be investing on the children's education.

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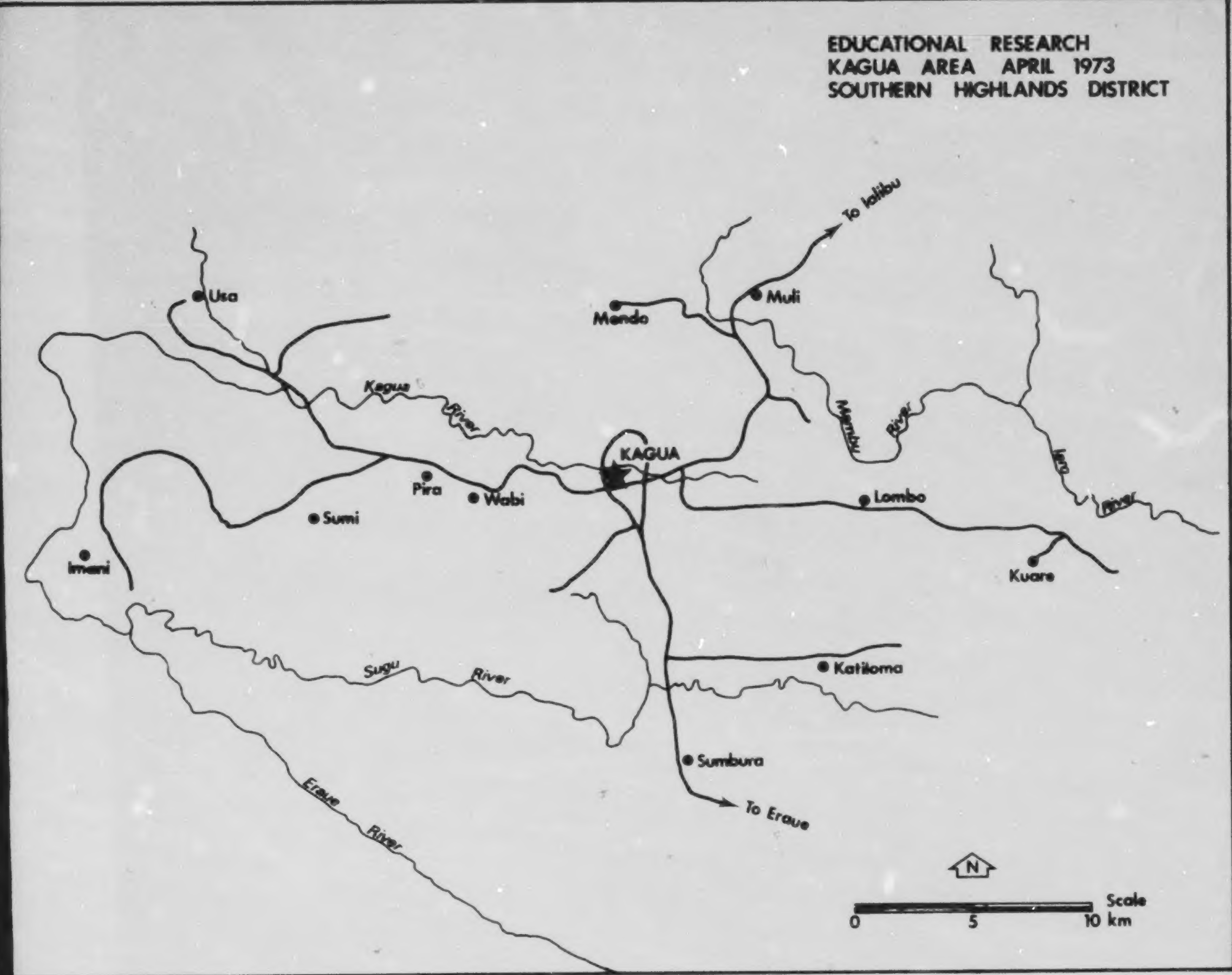
SECTION 2

EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS



EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
KAGUA AREA APRIL 1973
SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS DISTRICT

J.P. POWELL

INTRODUCTION

That part of Papua New Guinea now administered as the Southern Highlands District was first explored by Europeans in the early 1930's and came fully under Government control in the 1950's. Despite its large population (about 200,000) it remains one of the least developed parts of the country and has become accessible by road only during the past few years. Remoteness from markets and ports severely hampers economic growth and the relatively recent development of educational facilities - there are still only two high schools - has encouraged the people to be wary of rapid political and social changes without the cash inflow which they often feel should accompany them. It therefore presents an area of major challenge to national developmental policy-makers.

The District Administration is establishing a number of community centres throughout the District which are intended to constitute bases from which agricultural, political, social and educational development can extend. A major obstacle to development, but one which has frequently been ignored in the past, is that little is known about the aspiration of local people. What kinds of changes to their life-style do they want? What kinds of economic projects would they be willing to support? Are they interested in adult education? Unless such questions can be answered many well-meant, and often costly, endeavours by field officers and government departments will come to nothing. Such information is not easy to gather, as the following reports show, but even to pose the questions and to take time to make them intelligible to village people is a major first step towards the formulation of a humane and credible policy for rural development.

During the Easter vacation in 1973 a group of four male undergraduates spent ten days at the community centre in Kuare, about 14 miles from Kagua. Two girls worked in Kagua itself, living with one of the teachers. Their task was to talk with village people and local leaders in order to gather their opinions on development and desired social and educational change in the area. In addition to making this information available to the District Administration it is hoped that it will identify projects which students of education and social work can assist with as part of their undergraduate training.

We must thank all those people who gave invaluable assistance and advice, especially the District Commissioner (Mr Clancy), the Deputy District Commissioner (Mr Bottrill), the District Rural Development Officer (Mr Wallis), the A.D.C. Kagua (Mr Warrilow), the Assistant Patrol Officer at Kuare (Mr Young). The welcome and interest of the village people made the visit memorable and greatly worthwhile.

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JOSEPH MONSEN

FIELD NOTES

16.4.73: Left Port Moresby airport at 6.45am - weather fine. Quite cloudy towards Mendi; turned back towards Mount Hagen and landed at 9.30am. Departed 10.30am for Mendi and arrived there at 11am. Met by Agricultural Officer, John Wallis. Briefed by him at District Headquarters conference room. In his briefing John Wallis explained to us about the area (District) and also the attitudes of the people. He told us that it is very hard to find out what the people in Kagua area actually want. They are not interested in businesses such as cattle projects, tea, coffee. They want the white men to set up businesses so they can work for them as casual labourers. Departed Mendi for Kagua at 2pm. Arrived Kagua 2.10pm.

Met by ADC, Chris Warrilow, and briefed. From what I learned from him he sees the people around and within Kagua subdistrict as conservative, unwilling to accept changes that are coming in. The area is said to be most underdeveloped in terms of economy, political and social aspects. People saw no values of these aspects as far as development is concerned. The areas outside Kagua are subject to limited influence either from the government officials or from the outside world. The villages are isolated and the road is very poor. This is because the roads are mainly made by hand labour, not machines.

MY IMPRESSIONS OF KAGUA: Kagua is, of course, a subdistrict headquarters of the Southern Highlands District. It is there to serve the patrol post and so-called community centre like Kuare. At the Kagua station there is a district office which holds several administrative functions like the bank, post office and clerical. It is also a centre of local government council, a hospital, primary school, corrective institution of places inside Kagua Subdistrict. The administering is done by the ADC. Other staff who are in charge of these agencies are clerks, teachers, warders, policemen, nurses. However, the staff is very limited in number. In Kagua there are also two trade stores; a mission station. The only form of transport in the area are tractors, utility trucks and a faster method which is a Cessna plane which travels between Kagua and Mendi.

18.4.73: KUARE: Kuare is a community centre not a patrol post. It is a recognised community centre and its main purpose is to serve the people in terms of school, health services, agriculture, forestry, and government functions like local government councils, courts. It is administered by an APO (Assistant Patrol Officer) Clive Young. On the education staff there is a head teacher and five other teachers. There is one didiman, a medical orderly, a policeman and an interpreter.

KUARE PRIMARY SCHOOL: The classrooms are all made of native materials (kunai, pitpit walls). The school consists of classes from Standard I - 5. There are two Standard 5's. It was commenced in 1969. 200 children attend the school. Some of the children are frightened and some very willing to talk with strangers. Generally they show very little interest in school, they are only there because they have to be.

KIRIBIMI VILLAGE: Had a discussion with a group of men from Kui village. Kui is about 4-5 miles away from Kuare. Discussions based on development, social life and education.

DEVELOPMENT: Very reluctant to tell us exactly what kind of development they want in their area so I made some suggestions like whether they want new crops, cattle, tea; business in pigs, chickens. They are willing to start up businesses but they do not have enough time to cater for it. Most of their time is taken up doing government work, like road construction and maintenance. If they happened to start up a business they would be willing to work as a group. The elderly people have no interest at all as far as the development of their area is concerned. They are happy with their traditional way of life. They said only that their children could accept changes, but for them it is too late to divert their lives because they are illiterate. It is the children who could change their lives and are responsible for any development that would come in.

EDUCATION: The people have very limited ideas of what education is all about. Some people see education as a source of bringing money and wealth, that is why they send their children to school. Others saw no value at all for education; they are puzzled but they send their children to school because of the law (being forced to send children to school).

They said there is no relevance in adult education - they are too old to learn; they say if they are taught it would be a waste of their valuable time.

LITERACY: Some are willing, but most of them are unwilling and did not give an answer.

AGRICULTURE: "What sort of agriculture do you want to teach us? We know how to plant kaukau and other garden produce. We are quite happy with our gardens and we are not short of food."

POLITICS: Very limited knowledge about the function of government and what goes around the country's politics. Not very many interested except those who have been working out of the district some years, also the councillors and some village elders.

Local government council have done very little to improve development in their areas. The people do not want self-government and to most extent independence. They say (1) we are still backward, still practicising our old tradition; (2) since the penetration of white men (6 years ago) we still do not understand white man's way of life, the impact that he brought, yet we are sending them away - we are afraid our nation is going to collapse without white men ruling; (3) the coastal people press harder for self-government as they have earlier contact with the white man and understand the changes. We think is not good; they are thinking only of themselves.

SOCIAL LIFE: Quite happy with their traditional set of social activities. They could not tell me exactly whether they wanted changes in their social life or not. Few told me that they wanted better houses, but where can they get the money to meet the costs? It would take them many years before they could afford it.

STUDENT PARTICIPATION: The people could not tell me exactly what the students of the University of Papua New Guinea could do to help them in development both concerning education and social life - I think this is because they have no idea of what students could do to help them.

19.4.73: KAREUERE: Kareuere is a village about 2 miles away from Kuare. I had a discussion here again with a group of men and a councillor.

DEVELOPMENT: We want development, but we are not familiar with what sort of development we want. We are doubtful which step to take -

- Would the cattle project benefit us?
- Would the introduction of new crops benefit us?
- Are we going to be successful in businesses?
- We want to start business but how can we do it, we haven't got any money to start off with and the land we are sitting on is not really ours as our fathers claimed it from other tribes through fighting. Therefore we are afraid to start businesses because trouble will arise afterwards. We could not start pig or chicken projects because other tribes would steal or destroy them.

EDUCATION: They do not think adult education would help them a great deal. They are already grown up; such things which will be taught will not be learned quickly by us. But who will do the job for us because you students won't be here and if you teach us in a period of 1 or 2 weeks we would absorb nothing. So you will be wasting your time - same as our time. However, if there is a possibility then we shall all try together.

LITERACY: Willing to take literacy classes.

AGRICULTURE: Doubtful - no direct answer was given.

POLITICS: It would be a good idea if students could assist in political education. They have no idea about the functions of government and the political system.

BUILDING: Doubtful - no direct answer.

HEALTH: We want more health services and we would be most willing to learn about health. We have already noticed that most of us are dying because of bad health.

STUDENTS HELP: We would be grateful if the students from UPNG could help us; we don't want to overthrow the kiaps who have done so much to help us though. We do not want to lose our white masters.

If you students are going to teach some of our literate Pidgin speakers to be our teachers we think it is a good idea, but we think these teachers will not be consistent; that is they will not be steady with the job. Unless they are paid they will not be willing to be teachers. So if you can help us we suggest to you that these Pidgin teachers should be paid by the local government councils, possibly $5 for two weeks.

Students could help the Land Titles Commission to mark out our lands because we have a lot of problems with land. And we think if you students could put pressure on the government to solve our land problems it would be good.

KUARE PRIMARY SCHOOL: The students at Kuare primary school could help the village community by helping our men to build houses, making fences. But they must be subject to close supervision of the teachers.

MY IMPRESSION OF KAREUERE - HEALTH WISE: At Kareuere village I carried out the first aid, by dressing sores, ulcers and giving medicine to people who are sick. They are very thankful for the medicines and medical aid I provide to them.

In conclusion, the overall health condition of the people is very poor, mainly in terms of cleanliness. There are very many people with ulcers which show no sign of improvement or recovery. They told me that it would be great if we could come again next time to provide these types of medical aid programmes.

20.4.73: TIBURU CATHOLIC MISSION: Tibure Catholic Mission is about 2 miles away from Kuare. Only a mission "katiket" (catechist) lives at the mission station. The priest lives at Kagua and calls into the mission to serve mass. The day I visited the mission it was a special day of celebration of Easter. The people who came are from two different tribes and they have never been friendly with each other. It is only for Easter celebrations that these two tribes came together. Shortly after our arrival the priest arrived (an American) and I was able to talk with him.

PRIEST'S EXPERIENCE:

- Good people but conservative.
- Strongly and highly respect their traditions - very reluctant to change.
- Strong feelings of tribal groupings.
- Very hard to communicate - literacy problems.
- Have little idea of the country's affairs.

He commented that communication is a problem here. If we can teach Pidgin literacy and also help the adults to read and write Pidgin it would be one way of bringing changes.

MY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PEOPLE: HIGHLANDS LABOUR SCHEME: I asked the people what they thought of the Highlands Labour Scheme? Most of them favour the scheme; movement of people out of the district to work in other districts (coastal areas) as that is the only way they could bring money and material wealth (clothes, suitcases). People who went out to other parts of the country to work are better off than ourselves.

MY IMPRESSIONS: Most people are willing to work as casual labourers and they would run for it if labour is needed at any time and at any place. I am also in favour of the idea of people going out to work in other parts of the country to earn money as there are several concrete indications of this in the area. People who once worked under the Highlands Labour Scheme are literate Pidgin speakers and are the only interpreters in the area. They also run small trade stores from the money which they acquired as wages while working as labourers. These people usually dress in European clothes and have better health. They are also confident in speaking and expressing their opinions. Some also gain prestige among the community and are elected as councillors or committee men for certain functions.

DEVELOPMENT: The people told me that they wanted development such as new crops, cattle, tea, but we know nothing about how to do it. We need people who could teach us these things. These people must be with us most of the time to supervise and make sure that we do the right thing.

SOCIAL LIFE: We need water supply to our villages but it means money and where can we get money? The government cannot give us money because we have already seen how it failed to help us. We worked hard on roads and building up stations like Kuare but we gained very little out of it. The Kiaps and other government officers told us that we needn't be paid for our labour because all these things are contributing toward development on our area. If we want to progress we have to give our labour free. The government is spending more money to develop other areas and neglects us. If the government is doing that, then why should you people come around asking us whether we want changes or not? Because how can we change if the Government is unwilling to help us in financial aid?

21.4.73: WARUANDA VILLAGE: Here I had a discussion with a group of traditional leaders and also some young men (literate Pidgin speakers who had been out of the District for some number of years). One of the traditional leaders spoke on behalf of the others - "We are afraid of self-government. Now that you are here you can see it yourself and compare our place to your place. We have heard many stories from our sons who went out to work in other places that your people are living like Europeans (whitemen). The white men had helped you a great deal like providing machines to work your roads; here we did all by our bare hands. If you wanted to throw the white man out of this country, we are very much afraid that our country would fall if white men left the country".

He recommended that: "The Papua New Guinea government should spend more money on us; build more schools in the area; introduce or encourage more expatriate enterpreneurs in our areas as it did in other districts; make sure the white men do not leave the country; employ more of our people in fields like police, police warders, drivers, carpenters, mechanics."

DEVELOPMENT: What sort of development do you want for the area? - "It is very hard for us to tell you exactly what sort of development we want because we do not know what development is all about. As you have mentioned and also we were told by white agricultural officers we could have development in crops, cattle, tea, business, pigs and chickens but how can we achieve these kinds of developments when we are lacking the knowledge of how to run or look after them, the money for the development, and the markets?

Regarding knowledge, we are illiterate (uneducated) and it is very hard to absorb instruction or advice given to us by agricultural officers or people like you. We could absorb and understand more if agricultural officers or your people stay in the village and work with us (practical). It is by observation and participation we could absorb what we need to know about but not in theory. That is what we think our people should be given more practical training to develop their knowledge before they could start a cattle project or business.

The need for money before we can start businesses is there. This is because all of the equipment needed for the establishment of cattle projects for example are obtainable only if we have money . You could see this in our area; only the people who went out of our area to work as labourers in other parts of the country and came back to settle in our village have money and then run trade stores. This is because they have the money - the money which they gathered while selling their labour.

if we had markets we could then sell our produce, for example coffee, tea and chickens. If we want to take them to Mount Hagen or Goroka it is very expensive, really costs us a fortune in transportation and handling charges. If we sell them here the price is very low. The agricultural officers, we think, do not pay our coffee properly - we think too they have cheated us. The people in our village also have trouble trying to sell their things. People cannot buy them because they haven't got the money. This is one of the very things which discourages us from starting businesses or coffee or tea plantation; our hard work will result in a very small return."

Here are some of the views on cash economy which some of the people who had been working out of their district, but now living in the village, put forward. This is what a man stated on behalf of the others - "We want a cash economy, but what sort of cash economy? Often we sell foods to the kiaps or other people working for the government and sometimes they paid very little or sometimes they would not pay anything. They told us that they came to help us therefore we should help them with our service without crying out for money all the time. Also at Kuare we help a great deal in building up the station for nothing, as this is our service to the community. We worked hard on roads from Mondays to Fridays and we were paid very little, sometimes there was nothing at all. Our native materials which were used for building government houses at Kuare were not paid for but being given away as gifts. All the time were we told that if you want development you have to offer labour and materials for nothing. This business of providing and gaining nothing is one which discourages us and limits the extension of cash economy in our area. We think this is the grassroot of cash economy since there is no other way which we can earn cash. We have noticed in other parts like Port Moresby, Lae, this situation is entirely the opposite. For every labour, food or materials they (the people) provide they have to be paid. We strongly believe that the government officials have been fooling us and our people".

SOCIAL LIFE: What kind of changes do you want, or would like to see? - "We do not want change unless we have money." One old man put it this way - "I will only pull down my house if I have the money to build a European-type house and I do not want to travel in a truck because it kills many people and I do not want European food because it is not what my ancestors ate and also my son told me that when he ate European food he was never satisfied, he felt hungry very quickly".

Other people told me that they greatly needed a market - but it must not be out of their area, it must be in the area and also it must be stabilized. Here at Kuare they chose a local market but there is not enough people to buy their produce - in other words plenty of produce but not enough customers. The people told me that the government or us the students could find a way which could help them sell their produce. They think it is a waste if they take their produce back to the villages after marketing because they do not normally harvest a great amount of food. They only harvest enough for their diet, in that case they will not waste food. Some of the people told me that the Government should bring more people to rural areas by encouraging or establishing government departments, agencies or companies in their area. These would employ more people and bring more people into the area because of employment opportunities. Because these people are temporary workers and they do not have gardens they could rely mostly on local markets. In this way the people could easily sell their cash crops.

EDUCATION: On the subject of education I asked the people whether they would like to learn about Pidgin literacy, agriculture, politics, health and making things. The old people showed very little interest in adult education. As one man about 30 years of age put it : "Education is for my sons and daughters, what good would it bring me if I went to school at this old age? My children are the ones who should go to school, but not me". Many people said that education is only for young generations. However, there are some people who would like to learn literacy, agriculture and politics. They told me that if such projects came into reality they are very willing to give some of their time to attend classes. They would be very happy if students could assist. Still on education, I asked them in what ways could Kuare primary school students and teachers help them. The answer i got was that the students at this stage of education are small and therefore they don't expect any help from them. They should concentrate on their school work. "We do not expect help from the teachers because we think they have done a lot to teach our children. This is enough help. We have shown our appreciation to the teachers by helping them with food and firewood. This has been going since Kuare primary school was first established." I agree entirely with the people because I did observe it myself. Every morning the children would bring with them to school one kaukau and one piece of firewood for their teacher.

I also asked the people if they would like to see Kuare primary school changed, and they told me that they did not want it to be changed, they are quite happy if Kuare primary schools remains as it is. I asked them whether they would like to go to school in the afternoon and the children in the morning. One man told me: "This is not good because it would be wasting our children's time. It is the children who should learn, not us. We do not see any ways that the school can help us.

22.4.73: KUI VILLAGE: At Kui village I had discussion with a group of men and a catechist of a Bible Mission. First of all I asked the catechist, what kind of changes does he want to see in his village.

DEVELOPMENT: "Our people have no idea at all about development because they have never seen development in reality. Kiaps are always talking to us about starting businesses, as are agricultural officers, encouraging us to plant tea or coffee but they have never realised that it is the money and knowledge that we lack. It is no good talking about a business and not showing us thoroughly how to do it. There are some people who were told to grow coffee and they did, but the coffee did not grow well and when they approached an agricultural officer about it he would yell and scowl saying that they were not looking after the coffee properly. These attitudes of the agricultural officers to the people resulted in reluctance to start coffee plantations or businesses. We need people who would be staying and working together with us in the village for a longer period than a "one day tour" which most agricultural officers and other government officials often did. Our people are very backward and they need assistance, like a mother with her small children. In other words we need intensive training regarding how to do things."

The catechist also told me that one of the most important reasons why his people declined to start businesses is because there has never seemed to be any reality in business, its values or benefits. If there is something concrete in the area, say a "company master" as they called it, it would encourage the people to start projects as such. In other words, they want expatriate entrepreneurs to establish plantations of coffee or cattle projects in the area. The people would then go and work for these prople as casual labourers. In this way they would earn cash; at the same time as working they will be acquiring knowledge of how to start their own plantations and cattle projects. So often, after working for some years and if they think they have enough experience and money they would then go back to their own land and establish their own projects. In the coastal areas this is exactly what happened. Europeans are the ones who first establish plantations. The coastal people worked for them and after acquiring experience and money they then went ahead and started their own plantations. The catechist told me that his people really want company masters and they would like to work for them.

SOCIAL: Many people at Kui Village told me that they want more or want to see that some of their people are employed by the government in jobs like policemen, warders, drivers, mechanics etc. They said that they cannot change their social life or make it better unless they see the sort of changes occurring in other parts of the country. I asked them whether they wanted better houses, water supply to the village, etc., and they told me that all of these things mentioned cost money and at the moment they are very reluctant to spend their very limited resources on such things.

My impression on this duscussion which I had with the people is that they want changes, for example water supply to their village, but they are afraid of the costs and perhaps labour. For example, at Kuare Community Centre they are working on a project to divert the water into the community centre. It is, of course, a hard tiring job trying to bring water over the ridges into the centre.
The people themselves do not realise how important it is and they do not see how it could benefit them. They worked very hard digging and clearing because they are commanded to do so by the kiap and his policemen. They believed that if they disobeyed any orders they would be thrown into prision. It is through the fears of such things that they work hard, not because they know the value or benefit of such a project. On a number of occasions people came to me and said - "Look, my wantok, I have been working

hard on the road construction and maintenance for years with my bare hands and haven't been paid for my labour and now they told me again to spend 2 or 3 days working on this water scheme. I am helpless, can you help me, if I do not work I will be thrown into gaol".

EDUCATION: There was no objection about literacy. People are very willing to be taught how to read and write Pidgin. Of course there are one or two people who questioned me as to whether a course in literacy would enable them to get a job, but I told them No. It is to help you in communication and other aspects of life. People are also very enthusiastic about politics. For example, many of them asked about self-government and independence, the House of Assembly, etc. I told them about the meaning of self-government and independence. This stimulated the discussions and this could go for hours but I stopped it because of the limited time I had. From this I concluded that these people really want political education because I think they have never been told properly what will happen if this country obtains its self-government. From my speech to the people about self-government and independence I was able to convince almost half a crowd that there is nothing to fear about when self-government comes. Some people told me that they have never been told what I just told them; they heard from some of the people who were once working in coastal areas that if self-government came there would be no law and order. There will be fighting and people from other countries would attack us and claim our land. This is one of the main fears the people whom I talked with expressed. And this sort of feeling came about through lies, fear and confusion.

REPORT ON PIDGIN LITERACY: The aim of the project was to teach a number of people who already are Pidgin speakers, and also could read and write Pidgin, to teach others how to speak, read and write Pidgin. Matthias Vuira-Kama and myself were able to find 4 people who are willing to attend the course. Three of them are catechists for the Bible and Catholic missions and one of them was a school dropout (probably from standard 2 or 3).

We conducted the class in one of the classrooms of Kuare primary school and spent 1-2 hours each morning of the 10 days we were there with them. These four people were very keen and often they would come quite early. There is also quite a number of people who could come and sit around very quietly and observe everything we did. The impression they showed is that they are also interested to be taught. One of them did come up to me and asked if he could join the mob but I did not allow him because there was not enough material and also we decided that four people would be enough for the time being since it was an experiment. If these four people prove to be valuable to the community then we would get more trained. Although our teaching went well, I still believe that these four people are still not very confident to teach other people. I would like to spend more time on teaching these people. However, we told them that we will be checking up on them once in a while by letter.

Even though everything seemed to be all right, there is one very important thing which should be solved somehow, if literacy is to be effective, and that is the four people whom we taught to be teachers of Pidgin literacy asked whether the government is going to pay them for their services or not. We told them that the Government has not got the money to do this and they told us that if that is so then they are not prepared to do the job unless they are paid. They even suggested that if the government cannot pay them, then the local government council should pay them. I talked to one councillor about this and he told me that he has no objection. He thinks the council should pay them $5 per fortnight as an incentive to make them go steady with the job. I strongly believe that the local government council in the area should consider this and be responsible for the paying of these men if it wants the people of this area to be literate in Pidgin. Furthermore, this is one way the council can prove to the people that it is helping them as in the ten days I spent with the people they all complained to me that the local government council is doing nothing for the area. They paid taxes but there was no result.

CONCLUSION: The impressions I got of the people of Kagua Subdistrict, especially Kuare where I stayed for ten days, is that the people are "conservative". They are conservative, not because they refuse to change, but because of the following reasons -

- Illiteracy (whole population of the area is illiterate).
- Lack of encouragement to change.
- Feeling of being backward.
- Changes are only for our children.

ILLITERACY: The people in the area are all illiterate; therefore it is very hard to communicate with them and make them understand that the world is changing and we have to change also. Because they are illiterate they are cut off from the outside world. They have no idea of what changes are possible so that they can chose the sort of life they would like to have, apart from their traditional life.
It is because they are uneducated that they refuse to accept change because they have been given a chance to recognise the value of the sort of life that people in other parts of the country are experiencing. It is only through education this can come about. I strongly believe that it is because of the impact of education that other people in the country have that made

them able to accept changes, and therefore develop their areas. I am not suggesting that all of the people must be educated before enforcing development; what I would like to see is that there must be at least some people from the area who are educated up to standard 6 or up to secondary level who would be the forerunners of development. People in Kuare have never realized the importance of education - not until Kuare primary school was established in 1969 (the first school in the area). Give time for the young generation of Kuare, I mean the graduates of that primary school, and then there will be a surprise as to how these youths can change the atmosphere. It is the education they lack and this is why they are reluctant to change.

FEELING OF BEING BACKWARD: This feeling of being backward is also one very important reason which makes the people ashamed and therefore refuse to change. People like government officials, kiaps and others, or people from other areas on a number of occasions would tell them that they are primitive - were very backward in comparision with the rest of Papua New Guinea. They are created lower beings than the white man and also, say, the Tolais. Furthermore they have heard stories from other people that the government of this country has been neglecting them. It concentrated on developing coastal areas and not the Highlands. This sort of feeling is a barrier to development and change. From what I experienced while talking to these people it is very hard to convince these people to lose this sort of feeling. As I quoted from one man - "My head is like a stone, and therefore you will be wasting your time trying to convert me into a literate Pidgin speaker".

LACK OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO CHANGE: The people of Kuare have no idea at all of how to change their living conditions. They have never been told properly what is expected from them in order to change in economic, political and social fields. Some thought that changes are supernatural. This is the result of cargo cults in some areas of Papua New Guinea in which the Highlanders would be no exception in this case in the near future. We cannot blame the people for such things because they have never been told or had explained the concept of changes which are taking place. They saw it as a miracle. I believe that the government has done very little in encouraging people in Kuare to change. For example, it should stimulate economic development in the area by taking every positive step; firstly by solving the land problem; secondly by starting up projects in various areas of the subdistrict - either cattle, tea or coffee plantations. These projects must be put into the hands of the owner of the piece of land on which the project is established. The Government is solely responsible for managing but the income goes into the hands of the owner. In this way other people could see the benefits and therefore be encouraged to start up their own cattle farm or whatever sort of project they want. I think the people want to see something concrete in their area, something convincing which displays the input and the output. At the moment they are lost because they are not too sure if they would gain something from cattle projects or their time and labour would be wasted for very small returns.

CHANGES ARE FOR OUR CHILDREN: Many people at Kuare told me that it is their children who would change their way of life and not them. This is because they are uneducated and at that age they would not worry about changing their way of life. They are quite happy with their life. I can see their point where they stated this. They feel that their time is gone and it is better for them not to worry about changes because it is their children, the younger generation, with knowledge which they acquire from school who will be able to change their way of life with understanding and critical eye. They feel that it is a danger of accepting changes without knowing its implications. That is why they still want to remain and practice their traditional way of life because it is nothing new to them. It has been passed from one generation to another.

FINAL REPORT: The ten days of research at Kagua Subdistrict offered me a valuable experience on field work and, also very important; alerted me to the *Grass Root Needs* of the people. Even though I was not able to contribute enough to meet the needs of the people as I hoped to, I think I have at least contributed something.

PROSPECTS OF FUTURE WORK BY STUDENTS: I think that the University's Department of Education has done something which is very worthwhile for the country. Projects which could direct some of the University's resources towards the study and implementation of education, social and economic development in rural areas. I certainly would like to see promotion of projects of that nature continuing year after year. Projects as such would provide students with better understanding of his country and his people, in community education work and also be able to participate in traditional rural life, and lastly be able to see with their own eyes the needs and aspirations of the rural population.

I am sure that no one at this University would argue with me that there are very few students or perhaps none at this University who knew more about this country and his people. We are like foreigners, the only part of the country we know quite well are our own areas, but still we cannot deny that we still have to learn a lot about our home areas. Often I feel ashamed when I heard an expatriate speaking in one of our native languages or teaching me the traditional history of tribal beliefs and customs of my own people; this is the sort of thing which I should already know about and I should be the one responsible for propagating my country's traditional history. Up in the Highlands I was lost because I could not speak their language, yet one of the Catholic priest's in the area could speak the language so fluently that if he is not white I could mistake him for a native of the area.

There are quite a number of things I have learnt from the project. Firstly, I was surprised to see that the area was most underdeveloped compared with some of the areas that I have known of. I used to think that it is a little bit better than that. This really convinced me that the people are right when they say *"We are not ready for self-government and independence"*. Secondly, the environment which includes climate, landform, etc. I experienced a slightly different climate from my own area; for example it is rather cold up there at night and it rains almost every afternoon. The undulating landform which stretches for miles and miles makes it hard for me to believe the history that the ancestors of these people came from South East Asia and penetrated to live in this rugged upland of New Guinea. By just looking at the countless mountain peaks, barriers, rugged terrain and valleys I think it is almost impossible for movement in the early times. It looks like the ancestors of these people did not come from somewhere else but just evolved from there.

As an education student with an intention of becoming a teacher the project was most beneficial to me, as it provided a training for me in community education work. It helped to build up confidence in my being able to get along with different people, as confidence is one of the elementary needs in my personality as a teacher.

The project as such in the rural area could be also an opportunity for students to have direct contact with traditional rural life by participation. Many of the students at this University have been away from their traditional life for a period of 10 - 12 years In fact they are cut off completely from their traditional life because of the long absence and the indoctrination of white men's education. So projects of this nature could revive some of the things they have missed in their past lives. Students should go back to the village, stay and work times with the people and take part in any traditional activities. The government of this country is trying hard to preserve the traditional culture of the people yet it never realizes that the new generation (the students) are responsible for the damage. However, not only the students are responsible, the public servants and also other people who have been away from their village for quite a long time are also isolated from their traditions. Some have lost contact completely from their customs, languages and even their relatives and friends back at home.

We, the University students, are the future leaders of this country and it is a pity if we do not know the needs and aspirations of the majority of our people and go on making big decisions based on urban experience and not rural experiences. This is simply because we have not been to the rural areas and seen for ourselves the needs and aspirations of the rural villagers. I think we, the intellectuals of this country have seen the problems and the mistakes which our present leaders have created in regard to this sort of situation which I have mentioned earlier and could avoid them. Now our task is to get into the villages and see for ourselves what the needs of the majority are, and what we can do for them ourselves.

I think all students undertaking the courses in education and social work or perhaps other students doing other courses should be sent out into the field as part of their course.
This would mean that the courses should be divided into two parts, the *theory* and *practical.* So while the students are at the University they learn the theory part of it and when they are out in the field they put the theory which they have acquired into practice. At the moment we are doing classroom type work only, to me I think it is artificial or unrealistic. Experiences in working in the field is one of the very things our new graduates from this University lack. That is the very reason why the Public Service Board and other private enterprises offered cadetships for students at this University. Firstly they want the students whom they sponsor to work for them after completion of their schooling. Now, what do their sponsors expect from them while they are still in school? During the school period they do the classroom work, but in the long vacation they are expected to go out into the field and work with them. In this way they could gain field experience and also confidence to stand on their two feet and work after their graduation.

The students participation in projects as such is valuable in the economic development of this country. Students are always spoken of as *consumers* and not *producers.* This I agree with; however, it is not because students cannot produce, the fact is they are not utilised or encouraged to be producers. In Papua New Guinea there are many things which students could do as their contribution towards the development of this country. However, they have never been given a chance as most of their time is spent inside the classrooms. Students could do many things, probably much more than the Administration officers, as these people are working for salaries and if they are not paid with good money they will not be very productive. The students on the other hand are not working for salaries; they are preparing themselves for their future careers, therefore they would try hard to achieve their goals.

HOW COULD THE STUDENTS HELP THE PEOPLE? There are many things which students could do to help the people with educational, social and economic development in rural areas. Some of the things which students could do are listed below:

(a) *Adult education*
(b) *Promote social welfare work*
(c) *Encourage economic development*
(d) *Students as media*
(e) *Assist teachers in primary school.*

ADULT EDUCATION: Adult education involves many subjects, e.g. Pidgin literacy, political education, health and hygiene or just topics which students could talk to the people about. For example the students could talk to the people about the education system. While I was on holiday last Christmas I discovered that many of my own people did not know what education is all about - the dropout problem or how their children are chosen to go to high schools. These sort of things would be of great interest to the people. Perhaps the people could help solve the dropout problem. Adult education could be done quite easily and cheaply through students.

SOCIAL WELFARE: In the social welfare work, students could help to make rural areas a better and more attractive place to live in. This would of course reduce the rural-urban migration problem. Students with the help of the people could establish clubs which are open for sports and social gatherings for young people. There could be competition in sports and also other sorts of activities put on by the clubs. The social gatherings should involve shows of plays or films or something more exciting like putting on traditional dances and modern type dances.

The students could also promote *DOMESTIC WORK* like baby care, cooking, sewing and other things that a mother needs to know.

ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: Students could play an important role in encouraging and assisting economic growth of this country. For example, in Kuare area there are many small trade stores operated by the local people but are not functioning very well at all. The people who own these trade stores have no idea at all of how to run the trade stores. In fact they are very business minded and they want to run their stores successfully as they see the Chinese around the place, but they cannot because they have never been shown how to do it. The business development officers, being limited in numbers, are not able to or have not got the time to train people step-by-step in management of these trade stores. However, the students are able and have got all the time in the world to assist and show the people how to run their stores efficiently.

One of the very important reasons why the people in Kagua Subdistrict hesitate to start up their own businesses, such as cattle projects, coffee plantations, etc., is because they have never been encouraged or taught step-by-step how to achieve this development; it has never been explained to them properly what they should have before they can go ahead in establishing their coffee or tea plantations.

At Kagua Subdistrict there is nothing concrete in regard to development, such as plantations or cattle projects locally owned which could generate other people's feelings of establishing their own. So I think a positive step for students is to find out from the people the sort of businesses they want and work with them until they come out with something concrete. I think it is always hard for planning and on to establishing, but once the project is going there is not much to carry on from there.

There are numerous projects which students could assist in establishing to help the people - some of which I have mentioned above, others include chicken project, fish ponds and pig yards. All of these projects which I include here I believe could be handled by students.

STUDENTS AS MEDIA: Because the newspapers and other methods of mass media are not effective in the rural areas, why not use students as media? Students have got the time to sit down with the people in their own homes and tell the people of the happenings in the country and also the outside world. During the ten days I spent at Kagua I was able to talk to the people about some of the latest current events and they showed a considerable interest.

STUDENTS TO ASSIST TEACHERS AT PRIMARY SCHOOLS: The education students who have the intention of becoming teachers could do their practical teaching in the field. If there is a school in the area where they are staying they could assist the teachers and at the same time try out their teaching skills. There are many things which a teacher in a primary school in the rural areas could do but has not got the time and also has not got many hands to do what he intends to do. This is where students could step in and help.

MARTIN BONAI

FIELD NOTES

17.4.73: After arrival at Kuare and briefed by the APO the group went around the centre looking at rhe various things. I met a person who knew how to speak pidgin very well. I had a short conversation. During the talking he expressed that the majority of the people fear self-government and independence because they are still backward. There are not enough schools and therefore not enough educated people. Another important reason was that there is no cash economy that can bring them money to buy themselves things which they need to improve themselves.

18.4.73: Met number of people on the roadside and in the village and spoke to them. They expressed these sort of things:

There is no cash economy because they spend five days a week working on the road and when can they be able to start or work on the business? They have only Saturday and Sunday at their own disposal and all the other days are spent working. There seemed to be a discrepancy from what we were told that road work is done only on Mondays and Tuesdays and not the whole of the week. Trade stores make no profit due to too much wantok system and too many of such little stores. Looked in on one of the so-called stores. There is hardly anything. Only a few tins of fish and a bag of rice is just about what they have. Concerning any sort of cash economy or other business that can bring them cash income, most expressed that they preferred to have a company who they can work for and not themselves running the business. When asked what they meant by a company, they said, white man owning big estates which we can work for. We can sell to him the ground and he sets up the plantation which can provide employment for us here. According to the speaker who was interpreting, they want all the white men to stay and work with the people. They said why should you remove our mothers, the white people who brought us to peace from our traditional life. They said you coastals are chasing the white men because you want to rule us. All of the people are frightened of self-government. They claim that they had committees appointed by the Government, then councils, but have seen nothing much done in the way of helping them and now while we are like stone heads or head pumpkins you coastals are asking for self-government. They gave two main reasons for fearing self-government -

1. Not enough educated people in their area.
2. No cash economy for getting money.

These two things must catch up with the rest of the districts in Papua New Guinea before they could feel happy about having self-government.

"Somare has learnt from the whites, you coastals learnt from the whites and now what happens, you are trying to chase away the good old white men. We have been discovered only six years ago and we retain most of our traditional customs and are now lost because of asking for early self-government. Black people cannot help us as much as whites and yet you coastals are trying to chase them out."

The main thing they are concerned about is self-government. They do not want self-government or independence and white people must stay here according to them.

Most young people are leaving the area and going to the coast because they get no pay for the road work. When they go out they get money and when they come back set up trade stores. Most of them also bring laplaps and money back to their families, which is good. From that point of view, to them it is good to go out. When asked, what is your opinion of the fact that they spend most of their money and bring home only a little, they said we never know that; whatever they bring home is what we always think the pay given to them by the people for whom they work in the coastal areas.

A question was asked us - Is it possible for us, the students, to take several of their men to our individual areas so that they can observe and learn for themselves various changes and developments and then come back to their own areas here and tell their people or start a similar business or developmental scheme? The difficulty of this sort of scheme from the student's point of view was given, but the idea that such a scheme could be feasible through the central government's aid was left open to them.

19.4.73: The women are a bit reluctant to have women teaching them on new ways, e.g. cooking, sewing etc. Most questions were not replied to because they said that they are still with their tradition and do not know much about what we were telling or asking them. They cannot start any business because they just haven't got the idea. In other words, they have not seen or experienced most of what we were telling them, or asking them, and therefore cannot comprehend the ideas . Better housing if possible, but no money to pay for cement and roofing iron etc.

Very strongly expressed point was that we are already close to self-government and independence. It is too late to have very many changes; it is too late for the big companies to come and set up their business for us to work and earn our cash to set up other things for ourselves such as coffee, tea, cattle.

They asked us personally, the students, that maybe we, who know more, can teach them on these things. They referred to themselves as the furthest branches of the trees - that they are so far away and therefore no attention is given. Instead coastal people who have, or are the root and the trunk, get all the attention and development, knowledge and almost everything.

"Black men who want to help us must come along with our own educated people from our own area here. It must not be coastal blacks educated only. With only seven months away before self-government, white men are saying: *"Its up to you."* Is this treatment going to be the same with you educated coastal people? If so where are we going to get all the help, where are we going to get the money from?" I think the most important reason given why people are very reluctant to start some cash earning crops, such as coffee or tea plantations, is that the land around Kuare was traditionally won by fighting from the people who live on the other side of the hills. There still exists hostilites between these groups over the land dispute. The point they expressed was that if we have plantations already set up, a fight will flare up about the land and the crops will be destroyed and all would come to nothing again. Land boundaries must be settled first, before we can start anything.

20.4.73: At Kirimi Village people expressed that they are still very backward, still have traditional dress. You could see for yourself how backward they were with your own eyes; you could look around and you can't see anything growing or any businesses. *"We are more tied to the tradition than the new changes. We are almost at the same level as we were when the white men found us, except we have peace now. We do not fight as much as we used to. We are not clear about all you are telling us and asking us. If our children go to school then they will understand them better."*

They would prefer to work for a company as labourers than to have their own businesses. A company may have any of these crops such as coffee, tea, etc., and the people can go and work for it. *"We want money that is why our young men are going out to the coast, Hagen, Goroka etc. Whichever company comes must be whiteman owned. We do not want a black man's company. The white men have more money to pay us if we work for them."*

Unexpectedly, a committee man got up and said that they have only one business. The one he referred to was having a rifle to shoot the cassowary and then sell the meat. He and many other men claimed that they wanted more guns to hunt for birds and possums and wild pigs. The difficulties of obtaining a gun and its possible dangers were stressed by us to them and how unprofitable it could be if more people have guns and they run out of birds, pigs, possums, etc., which they claim earns them money at the market.

Education was referred to as for the young - we old people have stone heads they claimed. We want to remain as we are, but you can teach our youngsters to read and write.

Half-way through the meeting the group almost got out of hand.

They wrongly interpreted our being there and asking them questions. They really made Aloysius and myself scared. They thought that we were telling them *tok bokis* (meaning "parable"). They thought we were actually collecting information to be used against them or to help us to kill them. Both men and women made all sort of noise out of fear and confusion, but we stressed the reasons why we were there and that we were not telling them or asking questions as *tok bokis*. Then they cooled down and some of them went to the chapel for Good Friday services. The remainder talked with us further. They stressed that the Kuare Community Centre should become bigger because people thought Kagua is too far; there is no good communication with long distance. They like to have, especially, more agricultural officers in the field, teaching them and explaining to them all aspects of crops or gardening, etc. But the people emphasised that these didimen must be white men.

21.4.73: Saturday is a market day for the people here around Kuare. Many people turned up for the market. They brought a number and variety of vegetables to be sold. The prices are very low; you could get more things with a few cents,e.g. we bought a bunch of big bananas with only 30 cents, which is very cheap. A committee man advised us that the market used to be very cheap indead, but because some people have been to the coast and have seen the high prices for things at coastal markets, e.g. Koki, they persuaded the people to readjust the prices and that is why there has been a slight price increase. The important observation about the market is that there is no demand. There are only a few teachers and Administration workers who could buy their goods so the people bring their food only to find that there is no one to buy it from them and therefore have to carry it back to their homes. Another interesting observation was that people, to a certain extent, bought some of their vegetables themselves. Even though the vegetables are grown by all the people, they still had some interactions among themselves. A missionary from the Bible Mission came in a car with the goods such as rice, biscuits, clothes, etc., and people were buying them from him. In other words there was an exchange or trading of European goods and native vegetables on the market day. We gathered that the missionary comes to Kuare every Saturday market day.

22.4.73: EASTER SUNDAY HOLIDAY - No work.

23.4.73: Interview took place at Kui Mapene village. The general feeling on pidgin literacy was welcomed. The expression of us doing things for them rather than themselves was very obvious. The people said that so many new things are coming and we have no idea about this new thing. If we want the people to have something then the students must provide guidance to the ways of doing things. School was regarded as a good thing because young children will become like the coastal people - able to read and write. On the idea of school helping community and vice-versa people said the community does help the school by -

1. Sending their people to school.
2. Cutting grass around the school every Thursday.
3. Bringing food for the teachers.

Some people wanted a clubhouse, but they said we actually do not know what the club is for and what sort of activities they should do in these clubs. They cut the posts for the clubhouse purely because the kiap said so.

Almost in all instances the people prefer white kiaps to rule over them. A black kiap has no strength therefore if there is fighting. So in other words they do not want self-government and independence.

24.4.73: Road building most of the time and therefore not enough time to do other business was expressed throughout the meeting we had. They work, but do not get paid, even though the road is for the Government who has the cars and the people haven't. Since the people have no cash crops which can be transported through this road, they have been fooled to work hard for nothing, without pay. The people have no cars, no crops, therefore the road service is for the Government only because only the Government has cars that often run along these roads.

Women were keen and welcomed the idea of women students coming out and helping them on various women's activities. They said: *"The Government just talks, but you students really coming to our places can do more than the Government."*

FINAL REPORT: As far as I personally feel, I think the excursion was not as successful as it ought. This means it could be improved further in the future, but this is expensive. I say it was a semi-failure because we did not obtain any answer to the main aims we had in mind when we set out the projects. We were supposed to come out with some concrete workable ideas or projects in which both the community and the students can be involved. But as far as we went, there was none of this sort of conclusion reached. This is due to mainly because the people just cannot comprehend all this sort of development we were talking about. They are too close to their traditional ways of life and the idea of change and the things that are involved in the process are just too much for their understanding. So far as getting on with the people - talking and socially interaction - there is no difficulty. The difficulty lies in trying to get the people to understand the things that might be good for them.

On the question of what positive thing the students could do during a long period in the field, I think this is where we failed on this trip. We have not really come out with some positive things. This is not our own fault but mostly the people's because they just couldn't tell us, or just didn't know what they wanted. We cannot fully blame the people in this too because as they often expressed they just have been recently contacted and the ideas are too much for them to grasp. No matter how clear you explain the things it seems that nothing much gets into the people's heads. Maybe the positive things the students can do during their long stay can be derived at through the recommendations and suggestions. I therefore leave it until the end where I will give some of my suggestions or recommendations.

Before making some suggestions and recommendations I would like to list down the main things which I thought came out of our talks with the people.

1. People are very reluctant to change. Change is only good for their young, educated children so they claimed.
2. They do not want to have their own business, e.g. coffee and tea plantations. They prefer to be just workboys for a foreign company, preferably white-man owned ones.
3. Great fear of early self-government and independence.
4. Communication difficulties.
5. Need Government's assistance for all forms of development.
6. Acceptance of pidgin literacy on 50/50 basis.

From the social point of view, there is a need to get people involved in certain communal activities. Such activities could include: Sports Clubs, Youth Clubs, Women's Clubs where the people get together socially and educationally.

Politically the people are very ignorant. They have the false fear about self-government and early independence. They reckon that self-government is a human person that will come to Papua New Guinea from somewhere. There is really a need for intensive political education. The councillors do not do enough, nor the committee men or kiaps. People fear black ruling black, and this is out of ignorance. The kiaps have already schooled them that white rule is the good thing, therefore they seem to claim that they want to keep the whites as long as you want and disregard their own persons who most likely have more sympathy and understanding than the colonial white person. Students can do a great deal in this respect because people seem to accept the students far more than they would, I guess, the Administration officials.

Educationally, the adult pidgin literacy should be intensified. I think in this part even the little primary children can be taught how to teach, bearing in mind that not all of them are going to high school. These pupils then will teach others again. I feel it is easier to teach the methods to the pupils than to thosa who only know how to speak it. The so-called standard 6 dropouts could become the potential pidgin literacy teachers. My point here is that we should not overlook these kids and take the hard way teaching the adults who just know how to speak it hoping they get the lessons clearly and hopefully teach others successfully.

SOME SUGGESTIONS: In an attempt to change these people, I feel that from what they expressed we either leave the old fellows as they are and start changes or all these things with only among the younger generation or leave them as they are because they seem not to accept any change whatsoever due to ignorance. A time might come later on when this attitude will change and then it will be easier to deal with them in these various aspects we have been discussing right throughout the period we spent at Kagua.

More intensive political education is required to get the people in proper line with various terms used these days. Not only that, but clearly and carefully explain the various changes, functions and set ups of the government. Students like ourselves would be more acceptable to do this sort of thing.

The biggest problem is communication and pidgin literacy hopefully will reduce this concern. May be it would be better if these programmes are much more intensified from what they are at the moment. Unless more people speak, conversations can always be distorted through interpretation. The idea of formal education is very new to these people and they now see the need for education. Still there are more who do not go to school at all. To avoid this at least to certain extent, Kuare school should be enlarged into a big primary school.

There seems to be nothing much by way of skill that the students could pass on to the people, other than to provide labour themselves during their stay there. This again is not necessarily a bad thing. At least people could see and feel that students are prepared to put themselves to the very root and work with them.

People did request that next time women should come and teach their women to sew, cook etc. Again this requires having to have the gear. I suggest that people provide these things and that our women can be instructors where the facilities are already available.

There is a very urgent need for land demarkation because the people expressed that unless the land problem is settled, all business activities can be destroyed or disrupted anytime by tribal warfare over the piece of land. Students can be involved in this with the commission that reallocates land boundaries.

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Aloysius Nake

FINAL REPORT

The main theme of the project was to get people to express their ideas about what they want and what they mean when they say they want a better life or development in their own area. It was essentially the first step in rural development, therefore the survey was a mere collection of accurate information concerning the needs and aspirations of village people and some indication of the various types of projects which they would be willing to support. The six of us who were assigned to work in pairs confronted great difficulty in identifying exactly what the village people really wanted. They admitted that they had not been out of their area and this put them in a very difficult situation to tell us what they want to see changed to make life easier for them. They advocated that we tell them but we refused to make any comments for we wanted to get their own opinion so that we could base our future assistance on what they wanted.

One other major difficulty which confronted us during our survey was that of communication. People who were able to speak Pidgin English were in a ratio of 1 to 300 people, which made communication pretty difficult. Even the interpreters we used were unable to comprehend our views exactly so we felt the message was not well passed on to them. Also the people settle in little hamlets which made it difficult for us to talk to them in great numbers at one time. As regards the communication difficulty we asked the people whether they were interested in learning Pidgin English. All those whom we questioned to get their views agreed/rejected on the 50/50 basis. Those who disagreed in learning Pidgin at the village called Kilibimi argued that they already had two people who knew how to speak Pidgin. Any translation can be done by one of them and if they want to prove whether the other fellow is telling the truth , they can always ask the other Pidgin speaker.

The village people gave us a warm welcome wherever we went. They wholeheartedly appreciated our presence and they advocated that they wanted to see more students in the future.

WHAT ARE THE FUTURE PROSPECTS OF UNIVERSITY INVOLVEMENT?
In order that students can contribute reasonable assistance to the villagers as well as getting a maximum benefit from this project I recommend that sixteen students should be selected to undertake such a project. Out of the sixteen students ten must be males and six to be females. From the total number, two male and two female students must be left at Kagua to serve the station people in the adult literacy programme which is to teach them how to read and write Pidgin English. Apart from that they can all teach them how to play certain games to enable them to keep fit. The rest of the students, twelve in all, have to go to the Kuare Community Centre. When they go there I further suggest that the four girls should remain at the centre with two other male students to be involved at the centre in varied activities to assist the local villagers. I therefore suggest that the students should carry out the following activities during their stay at the centre. These include:

1. Games like volleyball, soccer, basketball and other games which might be of interest to the participants.
2. Film shows which involve development in other parts of Papua New Guinea, e.g. the Bougainville Copper project.
3. Expertise instructions by women students to provide the necessary principles in cooking, stitching and baby care.
4. Discussion on best methods of growing crops and the marketing side of it.
5. Simple scouting activities not necessarily to train the villagers as scouts but to show them the basic know-how in first aid, pioneering and so on.

The six students who should remain in the centre, while carrying out the above duties, should also go to the village on the hill above the centre and any other village within their reach. I recommend the other three students to stay at Kui village about three miles from the centre where two brothers are already engaged in Pidgin literacy in association with the Bible Mission. From there they can easily expand their influence to Kilibimi No. 1 and 2 villages as well as Mabere village. The last three students should stay and work at Alomari village about four or five miles from the Kuare Community Centre, on the main road to Kagua.

The Alomari and Kalabere villages are side by side, both under Councillor Vevena. They have the same interests and what they really need in the form of assistance is to give advice on coffee and cattle projects as well as land demarcation. Just by looking at what the villagers want I feel there is a great deal where students can do something to help them.

RECOMMENDATIONS, SUGGESTIONS AND COMMENTS

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: It was noted during the survey that the villagers themselves are aware of the fact that to change their social way of life in this very short space of time will cost an enormous amount of money. For instance, I asked the people at Kalabere village whether they would be prepared to have a water pump in their village to save time in going down the cliff each time they wanted water. They said that because of the capital involved they see no reason for putting a water pump in the village. The possibility of constructing drainage in their village is impossible because water cannot travel uphill. As regards to well ventilated houses, they commented that they need no interference with their present housing situation which they claimed was quite good.

Cooking food is mainly over hot stones commonly known as Mumu because of the finance involved in buying saucepans. I questioned a number of villagers, both sexes, as to whether they would be prepared to be shown some alternative means of cooking by the students and their response was - *"Yes, yes"*.
This was at the Karabere village, so there is a challenge for the students. The people have not got the faintest clue of how social change can come about. Therefore they suggested no ways of government or students participating in bringing the social changes to their area. I heard very many confirmed cases from the elderly leaders that they are happy with their present social way of life.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: In talking about the place where this survey was undertaken in an economic point of view I saw no promising business which will bring long-term income to the local people. From my observation I saw only one four-acre paddock with two or three crows in it which according to me will soon collapse because of lack of expertise and assistance from the Department of Agriculture. The paddock virtually had no grass as feed for the poor animals.

There are thousands and thousands of acres of fertile and profitable land being left idle which, if cultived and farmed would bring hundreds of dollars to the villagers. I asked a number of villagers at Alomari, Karabere and Kul why no commercial farming is practised. They answered me with these three reasons: firstly, most of their time is spent in working on the roads which we were able to see with our naked eyes.

Secondly, what is hindering them from establishing business ventures is the reason of their occupying land which is traditionally not theirs but they are presently there because their grandfathers won it from other clans during a mass tribal war. They feared that the other clans from whom they got land might declare fighting on them and eventually claim the land back with, say, coffee or tea and this causes a great reluctance to start business.

Thirdly, they want foreign investment to go to their area to start plantations so that they can buy their land and once the business is established they will work for him. In elabcration on my third point I would like to make it clear, and for sure my friends who took part in this survey with me will also agree, that the people only want to work as labourers. They have the land, labour and market and if they can make the effort they will certainly get a good income from any business they will care to start.

HIGHLANDS LABOUR SCHEME: This is a good thing, especially to the elders because those who go to the coastal areas under this scheme bring material goods back like laplaps, shirts and shorts and above all the money brought home is used to pay their council tax.
Some are used in putting up trade stores which they hardly make any profit from because of too much wantok system. Teenagers are difficult to find because of the involvement in the scheme.
It was surprising for me to hear from the elders that they are not worried about losing their young men to coastal plantations.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: The people have been under the Western influence for only ten years. Because of this they are very ignorant and therefore are pretty afraid of self-government and independence. There is a great demand for intensive political education programmes which students can assist with. They think that self-government is going to come in a physical form and when we arrived at villages like Kul and Mabere the people ran away shouting: *"Self-gavman emi kam"*, meaning, "Self-government is coming".

EDUCATION: The first lot of pupils from this area to reach Standard 6 will be in 1974. The people see education as an investment and not as a consumption. They advocated through their interpreters that school is a good thing. I asked - "Why do you think this is so?" They replied that if their children obtained a good education then later they will become doctors, teachers, patrol officers and agriculturalists to help them. The type of assistance they expected is they want material benefits from them as well as to assist them to lead a good way of life. They wholeheartedly rejected any expert advice from the coastal people.

Finally, the people whom we approached to seek information from to assist them in the future have not given any definite suggestions. However, we still have to do something to help them to feel that they are not being neglected. This might include assisting in a mass literacy programme, demarcation of their land and an intensive political education programme. Believe me or not, the children in the area are the strength and unity of tomorrow.

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Mathias Vuira-Kama

FINAL REPORT

On the whole I think the research project was a success. Despite the few problems encountered, I feel that the group did get some information from the two weeks they stayed at the Kagua Subdistrict.

From general conclusions I think the people accepted and welcomed our presence. I think we were more readily accepted than the Government officials. This is good and I think this happy villager-student relationship should be exploited to the full in future projects or visits by students.

We were invited to stay in other houses overnight. This we politely refused. This was accepted by villagers. At times we had to eat in their houses food that they prepared for us.

I think in future students should be stationed away from the government stations. There was a suggestion that students put up tents in the middle of a village or nearby to a local community. I would recommend this idea of erecting tents, but if we were to stay for more than a month I just wonder if tents are the most suitable shelter from rain. This problem could be overcome. In a number of places there are rest houses or *kiap haus* and these could be used. They are situated in or as close as possible to people's houses. Also there are toilets available, etc., and it also gives students some degree of privacy which I think students should have.

Personally I feel that the students must, as far as possible, try and mix with people, especially at night because that is a most important part of the villagers' life. All that is not seen or heard during the day is forthcoming at night. Some activities that go on under the cover of darkness could be very important for our purpose.

A certain amount of food such as tinned food, sugar, tea, cooking utensils etc., should be part of students' food supply before they go to the 'camps'. However, a little money should be allowed to each student to pay for vegetables, firewood and house rent (if living in a villager's house). I personally feel that students should not accept anything for nothing. Students must pay for everything they get - food, firewood, housing and any service rendered.

Students may need to contact school teachers, if a school is nearby, or a kiap but I recommend that the student does not get involved in teacher's matters.

RECOMMENDATIONS

DEVELOPMENT BANK: Perhaps in future, students, prior to going to the area,could have a short course on what the Development Bank is all about - how to obtain loans and pay back, etc., so they could tell the villagers such valuable information.

Also students should be well prepared to explain the advantages of bank accounts. Students must show how to go about opening a savings account, how to deposit and withdraw. The villager must also be told where and how to seek information about banking.

POLITICAL EDUCATION: There is a great need to inform people about what is happening politically in the country. Certain students could also have certain short courses before going up to Kagua so classes could be held to discuss and explain political ideas and clear up any misconceptions which are very common within the Kuare Patrol Post area. (There were complaints that the current M.H.A. does not talk or explain government policies to the people of Kuare).

I suggest a student go and stay with a councillor, go to meetings with the councillor and go back and the two of them deliver the message to the people. If there are any misinterpretations by the councillor then the student is there to correct him.

A group of students could specialise in going around talking to people and explaining whatever needs explaining - concepts such as self-government and independence; and what this means after self-government and independence.

SOCIAL: ADULT LITERACY PROGRAMME: - I found that such a programme would be very popular, especially with the young people of the community.

We trained seven to be teachers after we left, but when in future we stay for two months this could be done by students. I am very optimistic that this will work. I will not find out until our next visit to Kuare.

Another recommendation is that on market day a number of students take the opportunity, when there are a lot of people there, to carry out certain demonstrations of how to sew, cook in saucepans, etc., dress sores and any other small activities. I personally feel that people should be shown other methods of cooking that they do not know about now.

I saw very little community entertainment. I therefore recommend that games could be arranged to be played at the market to arouse this feeling of social unity. It also provides entertainment for the community as a whole. In the end, people will have to pay for any sports equipment. They can already play some games (soccer, softball) and all that needs to be done is organise fixtures, tell them the rules and then let them carry on organising their own competitions. There is a possibility of a youth club being formed so that if this is formed everything could be organised by the youth club.

ECONOMIC: Generally I found it hard to get any constructive comments. Two things came out clearly. People want assistance to start cattle farming and coffee growing - perhaps we could do something to help here. Now that the new radio station in Mendi is starting perhaps something could be done to provide lessons on how to speak Pidgin over the radio. A lot of men and women do not know how to speak Pidgin and may be consideration could be given to teaching it. I see the need for this and am sure the people will see the need also because Radio Southern Highlands District will be doing most of its broadcasts in Pidgin.

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Nialel Pokaiou

FINAL REPORT

As a student not being in the Highlands before I did not even know what the people would be like, even though I had heard a little about them. Anyway, while our short stay at Kagua, Tambua and I spent teaching Pidgin literacy and talking to the women in the villages nearby. We only went out to villages if the lessons got boring - we realised this from the girls we taught. To get the girls (teachers) to come to class, we had to consult them first for the appropriate time to meet. We had about one and a half hours on this because by this time teachers get bored(especially the one which had a little child). But otherwise they were all interested. We had the lessons or literacy taught in the police residence.

Before we came, we asked if they can apply what they have learned to others. We doubt very much because the time spent was too little. We did not even get down to where we would be supervising them while they were doing the teaching. This again I considered to be time lacking. Overall, I think we did not get as much done as we would have liked.

Regarding the meetings we had with the women (including a few men) we had to consult the people about time and place. This is because it would be more wise to have more people than just a few if we went on the wrong time. We did not have any difficulties of getting them together. We had interpreters with us all the time. Their general idea of how can they develop their area is a big question according to them.

They do not think they can work alone but need someone there to help them, by talking and action. They wanted to improve but they lacked knowledge (white men's ideas), the lack of understanding of self-government and independence stopped them from progressing with their farming or cash cropping, such as coffee and cattle. These include the problem of marketing their crops. There is no means of marketing except that little market at Kagua, which is nowhere near enough earnings from their cash crop selling. Therefore they demanded a bulldozer to help them build a main road which can connect them to towns outside their area to sell their crops. The money which they get from selling crops can buy - trucks, make businesses,cattle projects or better houses. Social problems arise with the problem of a lot of their children could not go on to high school. The children sometimes ran away from the village and go to find jobs elsewhere, the ones who stay back have no way of helping their parents. In fact, they do not obey their parents. The people demanded a high school and technical school in Kagua. They are prepared to help those that they will go and start the school. As to their understanding of self-government and independence, it will drive the white men away and they think this would bring them back to their old ways of wars and fighting. They demanded the whites should not go, but stay and help them until such time as their area is ready for self-government and independence.

Anyway, we tried to help them by not thinking of whites but to think of working together as a country. We should now think of coastals working together with the Highlanders. It is about time we stand on our own feet and work to help unity and development of the country. Overall the meetings we had were good because the women and some men could talk and bring their problems to us. We did not at any time have any problems of walking, except the cold is worst during the night. We had no problem of where to stay because we had fun talking and co-operating together. There was no difficulty in talking to people or getting interpreters, but we had to consult the people before going to have a meeting at a particular place. The interpreters were volunteers so we had no problems. We could have helped in the garden, helped clean the house if we had lived a little longer there.

PROSPECTS OF FUTURE STUDIES IN LONG PERIODS: The number of girls that I think should work there should be four, two to work at the station with the women's club and two for the women in the villages outside the station which can be reached by walking. The two that go to the villages could help with health, help the women with cooking, gardening by means of fertilization, and sewing. And they could organize meetings to talk with the people, explaining the meaning of self-government and independence or answering their doubts and difficulties on anything else. The two girls that should work in the station or community centre should help with the club and the literacy. There the women's club is only sewing but not cooking or keeping house healthy. But these four girls should live on their own in a house in the station, say the kiap house. If they live together in a house where no one stays then they will have to do things for themselves which is better than staying with someone. Our stay was a short one so it may have brought little or no trouble to the people we stayed with; we felt they were kind to us.
I think I have mentioned enough times what girls should do while they are out there. They should work by themselves and they can be of demonstrators for the people. I mean the four girls will go there, might influence the people that it is not necessary to have whites helping us. We the Papua New Guineans can stand and help for the development of our country. This might solve their way of thinking.

RECOMMENDATIONS: I recommend that more explanations be made on the meaning of self-government and independence because it seems a problem to them of maintaining the idea of progressing. Besides they should be advised and helped on growing more crops.

They should be helped on social problems such as having a woman go to clubs or having a technical school for their dropouts. The living too should be improved somehow. A lot of the houses are very dirty and flies can be seen around and in the houses. This is because of leaving peelings lying around. This problem should be closely looked at and helped to solve. Again I recommend the people should be advised more on how to keep their houses clean. More preferable, show them how to because they do not like to be told.

In conclusion, I suggest that whenever a group goes there one of them should consult a missionary worker there to talk with his people. They do not seem to respond much to councillors so the councillors are not much good to talk to for our work. We were even told that, if we had consulted a councillor, we would not have any person come to listen to us or talk to us.

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Tambua Levi

FIELD NOTES

17.4.73: Talked to the children from Standard II and VI of the Kagua Primary School. They all had the idea that after they finish Form II of High School education, they are liable of getting any jobs in the government to earn money. When the children were asked why they go to school, they said: *"So that we can get jobs and get money to help ourselves and our parents"*. This shows that the parents send their kids not to get knowledge and come back to the villages and help them, but so that they can get jobs in towns or outside of their villages and send money back to them back in the villages.

The school broadcast that morning was about life in town and life in the villages. When they were asked where they preferred to stay after they leave Standard VI, half the class said they'd prefer the village life and helping their parents in the garden work and on the coffee gardens. Perhaps they said this because they haven't been to a big town like Mendi or Mt. Hagen so that they'll be easily attracted to the life there in the towns. Some children did prefer to live in the towns because, they said that's where they can go around in cars and buses, go for pictures, eat ice cream and so on. They say that that is where they'll find jobs when they finish school, to get money and send it back to the village. They said they can live with their *wantoks* in town and do their work. Later when they were told about the other side of the life in town, they all preferred to stay in the village and help their parents.

18.4.73: The two of us went to Purani with Bob Allen, the headmaster and his children who are doing Standard V. Purani is a village outside of Kagua about 15 minutes walk. The purpose of the children in going there is to clean around the village and also to clean the garden. This particular day they went and cleaned around one of the student's house. The father of the house was a basket maker and sells them at $14.00 or up to $25.00 depending on how big they are. Takes him about two to three weeks to complete them. With the money he earns from this basket-making he is hoping to start a trade store of his own. So far he has earned $40.00 from the selling of the baskets he made. When asked where he kept this money, he said that he carries it around with him, so we told him to deposit it in the bank, but he was not keen on banking his money. Perhaps this was because of the limited knowledge he has on how to save his money and also little knowledge of what the bank is all about, its purpose and the advantage of what it means to bank his money.

This old man says that education is good to help the country, but he looked as if he's not too keen on education either. Looked as if he sends his children to school because the other children in the village go to school. Here again, one is most likely to conclude that he also has little knowledge of what a school is for.

When asked whether he wanted to start a business like that of coffee or a cattle project, he complained that if his wife helped him more he would be able to start a business of his own. He wanted his wife to grow cabbages and other cash income crops and sell to get money, and if they work together to raise money they'll be able to start a cattle project. Here again he's not too keen in having a coffee plantation of his own or a cattle project. Because of this he is concentrating mainly in making baskets and selling them and in the end start a trade store of his own.

Speaking to another man from the same village, we could tell that this fellow was keen on starting businesses. This fellow has got a cattle project of his own. He started off by having 3 cows, but now he's only got one left. Besides this cattle project, he also has an area with 400 coffee trees on it. Because of this, the council in the area excuse him from working on the road. During this time, he works in his coffee field and on the cattle project. This fellow didn't like early self-government and independence. When asked why, he said that he is not ready like the people in the coastal districts. The children have not got enough education yet. He wants self-government and independence to come when people in his areas have got businesses. He also asked us why the Europeans have to go home when independence comes. He doesn't want the Europeans to go home when we have independence He stressed that if the Europeans go home the people there will go back to their old ways of life and have tribal fighting again. I think this fear is existing among the people because they underestimate the abilities the people of Papua New Guinea have. They think all these jobs in the country can be done by Europeans only and that the people of this country are not capable to hold such positions.

He is the only man around Kagua who is very keen at growing coffee. The Europeans around there reckon he's got more coffee trees than any other man in the area. When asked what he does with the money he gets from the sale of his coffee, he said he wants to save it and start some other businesses, but because he has 15 children and he wants them all to go to school, he pays their school fees with the money he earns from his coffee, so he finds it hard to save what he gets from the sale of his coffee. Despite all this he is a successful coffee grower and a person who is very keen at having businesses of his own.

But the reason why he hasn't got a big coffee plantation and a successful cattle project is because of the limited knowledge about how to run a business and also about where to get help from if he wanted to start a business of his own. This limited knowledge he has is sort of an obstacle which in a way stops him to start or enlarge his business.

When talking to him, he also said that there should be a high school established at Kagua. He told us that they have already set aside a piece of land for the high school to be built.

We also visited the Kagua Women's Club, where we observed what was going on there. While we were there, the women at the club cut dresses and shirts from material and sewed them by hand. They told us, they want a Welfare Officer to be sent to their area. Quite a number of women in the club were interested in learning how to read and write when they were asked. Because of this they chose two women from the club whom we taught them how to go about with the literacy programme when we leave them. With these two ladies we had one to two hour sessions every day. After a while a woman came in to join the two ladies. All these three women were Standard VI leavers, who couldn't make it to high school.

The question of being paid was brought up by some of the ladies, this sort of made one lady give up but later she came back again. When one of the ladies was asked about this, she told us that she didn't care whether she gets paid or not, she just wants to work and help her people.

24.4.73: Here again we met with the women of the Wambu village, which is about another half hour's walk from where we live. These women said that they have little knowledge of the Western world or ways and because of this they find it hard to start businesses of their own. By this they mean that they have limited knowledge of what a business is, how to start it and where to get help from if they wanted to start a small scale business of their own.

They also said that seeds of cash crops have been given to them to plant, but they're still not sure whether they'll be able to make businesses out of them or not. They want to grow coffee only and make a business out of it. With the growing of cash crops and coffee, after independence, they think that this will stop them from growing these cash crops. Here the fear of self government and independence stops them from having businesses of their own. This shows that they have very little knowledge of what self government and independence are. They also said that when we have self government and independence, and the white men go to their area, they'll return to their old ways of life and begin to fight with the other tribes.

The women in this village also complain about their working on the road without getting paid and yet they have to pay tax to their councillors. With this complaint, they said that there should be a bulldozer there to help them work on the main road. They want a main road to link Kagua with the other centres like Mendi and Ialibu so that they'll be able to have markets for their cash crops which they're not able to sell at the small market at Kagua. They say that if they have a real good road, they'll be able to transport their goods by truck to other centres for marketing. Besides this they complained that they have very limited knowledge on the techniques of growing cash crops and they wanted help in this field.

When asked what they'd do with the cash they earn, they said they'll be able to buy trucks to take their goods to the market, buy sewing machines, and start a cattle project in the area. Not only in starting a business but they can also improve their housing - their way of living.

They also complained that too many of their children are just staying in their villages because of too fewer schools in the area. Too few of their children go on to high schools in other areas, so they want a high school to be established in their area so that their children can go on to high schools.

25.4.73: At the Purani village the people also wanted a main road to link Hagen, Mendi and Erave to their area. They want a bulldozer to help them build the main road. When asked why they wanted this main road, they said that this will help them to transport their cash crops to other centres for sale instead of around Kagua only. Here again they complained that there is no good market for all the cash crops they grow in the area. Beside having the bulldozer, they want big companies to come, buy their land and set up plantations where they'll work as labourers to earn cash. They are not so keen on having their own businesses, but they want to remain labourers on plantations only.

The people here want more schools for their children. When asked why, they said they want their own children to be able to tell them how to improve their way of life and help them in their businesses and not other people to tell them what to do. They want their children to be educated like children all over the Territory. They stressed on having a high school and also a technical or a vocational centre for their children who are not able to go on to high schools. They are prepared to help with the building of schools if they're to be established in their area.

The women in this area want to learn how to sew and cook in different ways. They want someone to be there, who will teach them these things. They could later sell what they make and get cash for them. They want to form a club where they could do these things.

The people in this village want all the white men to stay in their area after independence. These people think that Papuans and New Guineans will not be able to run their own country after independence. Besides this, the people in this village know that they are the most backward group in the Territory so they want to delay independence till such time when they're developed like the other areas in the country.

They said that everybody should stand together and help to build the country. Both the old and young should put their knowledge together and work to develop the country.

When talking to them we could see that they want outsiders to tell them what to do. Not only this, but these people should come to their area and work with them to develop their area. They say that if people sit at the headquarters and tell them what to do they wouldn't do it unless someone is there to work with them.

LITERACY PROGRAMME: Our main aim in staying in the station was to carry out the Pidgin literacy programme with the women at the station. But our job was only to teach teachers who will carry out the programme due to the limited time we had at the area. We first approached the Kagua Women's Club and asked whether any of them were interested in learning how to read and write and quite a fair number were interested in doing so. From these the women chose one woman to train to be their teacher. The two of us chose two other young ladies from the village, both of whom were standard six dropouts. We chose them thinking that they know both English, their own language and Pidgin which will help them to teach their own people to be literate. We hoped that the programme will still be used as it is but in teaching it to the village people, they could explain the stuff in their own language.

After approaching the women at the station, we then went to a couple of villages around the station and asked whether the villagers themselves would like to learn to read and write. At first they laughed and said that they are too old to learn such stuff and that learning how to read and write was only for those who are young. But later on some of them were interested, when we told them the advantages they would have if they knew how to read and write. Then they would be able especially in an area like that be able to read their own Bibles and also while their kids are away from school they can keep in contact with them by writing letters to them and so on.

Our timetable while there was to meet these three women and work with them in the morning and then in the afternoon go out to the villages. But we did not stick to this because most of the time the women never turned up. But we managed to meet them about four times during the 10 days that we stayed there. With this I personally felt that these 10 days were too short, because when you're just starting a new programme in one area, it takes plenty of time to arrange things and by the time you finish your arrangements you haven't got enough time left to carry out what you are supposed to do. Because of this we found ourselves going out to the villages more than concentrating on the literacy programme. Because of our short stay there, we just managed to go through briefly what the teacher is supposed to do. But I am still doubtful if those three ladies really understood what we were trying to tell them. Therefore the question of whether they will carry out the programme successfully is still in doubt. I personally am doubtful of the success of the programme seeing that those 10 days were not enough to train the ladies.

Apart from this, with the ordering of books for this programme, we asked the lady who is looking after the women's club there to help the three ladies to order the material for them from the Kristen Press for their students, hoping that the three ladies would gradually learn to order the material themselves. The material would be available if the interested students contribute to the cost of the booklets to be used.

The question of the teachers getting pay also arose when we were there. One of the ladies told us that the other two said that they would work if they get paid. I approached them and asked whether this was so, and then they said that this wasn't true. One of the three told me that she will do the job to help her own people regardless of payment. But I was a bit doubtful about what she said, perhaps she was saying it just to please us. This was one of the reasons why they sometimes didn't turn up for us to go through the course with them.

TALKING TO THE VILLAGERS: We managed to go out to most of the villages around the station which were about half an hour's walk. In talking to them we discussed with them political issues and economics ones too.

POLITICS: In almost all the villages we went to the first item the people brought up to question us is about self-government and independence. The general feeling I got from their questions about these is that they know very little about self-government and independence . They think that when self-government and independence come they'll go back to their old ways of life and start this tribal fighting again - to go back to their traditional way of life again. This shows that they know very little about what is self-government and independence.

They also said that all the Europeans should stay back after self-government and independence. They said that if they go, the Papuans and New Guineans won't be able to run our own country and the government.

ECONOMICS: There is very little economic development in the area in the field of big projects of cattle or tea and other crops. There is small scale cash crops growing of cabbages, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables too. The people depend wholly on this small scale cash growing crops. None of the villagers have big areas of coffee trees. There is only one fellow in this area who is keen at starting or having his own business. He's got the highest number of coffee trees in the area. He even started a cattle project with three heads, but is left with only one head now, since the other two were killed for a feast and payment of bride price.

When going around the market at Kagua, we also found that most of the goods brought to the market are always taken home again, because they were not able to sell them. The people also complained that they don't have good markets for the cash crops that they grow in the area. Because of this, they find it hard to start small scale businesses of their own, since they don't have enough money.

Because they don't have enough money they also want big companies to go into the area and start up businesses there for them to work and earn money. With this we got the impression that they want to be labourers on plantations and work for others and earn money that way. Most of them are not very keen on starting their own businesses.

This very slow development on the economic side is perhaps due to the fact that the people have little knowledge about where they can get help and information to start their own businesses.

ADMINISTRATION: These people think that the Administration is not fair to them. The councillors come and collect tax from the people and then the people have to work on the roads without getting paid.

We found that there is a breakdown of communication between the councillors or the member of the House and the people. Many times these people don't go back and talk to the people on what they were told at the council to tell the people. Perhaps this is due to the fact that perhaps the councillors themselves don't really understand what is being said in the meeting or perhaps they just fail to tell the people of what is being discussed. This complaint was brought up by the people themselves.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: There is very little political development in the area and I feel that here the government should play a role in promoting such a development. Not only in sending staff out to the area, but also to print information in pamphlets or start a political magazine in very simple English and Pidgin to be distributed to the people in the area. The government officials or the rural development officers can help to bring this to the people. In the case of people who don't know how to read and write English or Pidgin, these rural development officers can help to read through these pamphlets with the people. This would mean that special time should be set aside for such a programme, where everybody in the little hamlets can come together for such purposes.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: With this the government should do the same thing as has been suggested for the political development. Here again I should point out that very little is done to arouse the people's interest in starting businesses of their own. The people here have limited knowledge on how to start and run projects of their own. Because of this not many of them are too keen in starting businesses. The government should again publish small pamphlets in very simple English and Pidgin for the people. For those who cannot read the rural development officer should be able to go through the stuff with interpreters. The pamphlets should have the basic steps of how one can start a business and also how one can start smaller scale projects with chickens, pigs, etc. The work or purpose of the Development Bank should also be done in the same way.

To conclude I would way that all in all people in the Kagua area have very little knowledge about both the political and economic development. Because of this limited knowledge, this sort of hinders or is like an obstacle which stops them from starting small scale projects to develop their area. They really don't know what to do to develop their own area. Because of this, they want outsiders to come into their area and work with them. They said that if people sit back in Port Moresby and tell them what to do, they wouldn't do it unless those people go and work with them. Here again, we can say that they don't want themselves to initiate things for themselves but others to do the work and then they'll follow along. We can also say that they are too scared or not sure of what to do in having businesses of their own. They sort of underestimate themselves. These people, like most people in Papua New Guinea, have no or very little motivation which could drive them to do things for themselves and to develop their area. Because of this, the university students and the Administration should try and get rid of the uncertainty among the people.

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SECTION 3

SCHOOL LEAVERS AND VILLAGERS IN THE HIGHLANDS TALK ABOUT EDUCATION

Johnbili Tokome

TALKING TO HIGHLANDERS ABOUT EDUCATION

FIRST INTERVIEW: This was with an aid-post orderly aged about forty, in the Enga sub-district. I first asked why he thought people sent their children to school.

"In their traditional ways parents must have enough to feed their children or plant enough food for their children, and if parents die, the children will be able to have enough to live on. This is just the same as sending children to school. If they go to school then they will have to look after themselves or get money to live on. Parents want their children to get money to be able to keep themselves because many people work for money nowadays.

School is the best thing for children. They will be able to work with the government, get new knowledge or *save* and to help our own people and ourselves after going to school. If children stay at home they won't be helpful at all. Parents spent a lot of money for their children to go to school. If they go to school they will be able to get jobs like clerks, doctors, nurses, teachers and carpenters. If the government didn't come we would still live like our own people, before the government arrived".

I then asked what kinds of things do children learn at school "Building houses, cleanliness and other jobs within the government. They learn traditional ways and to read and write English, Pidgin and many more things.

Things which are taught in school are useful because we think that children should learn other things to help our people. School is the *only* way to get money and to *know* something which is good about the community we live in. School teaches people to be able to set up trade stores and to follow Government laws. Those who go back home do become a worry because they will then be involved in their own traditional way of life. It is not good for children to go back home. They must go to get other jobs. They should go to technical schools, be a Didiman, go to Medical College and other colleges".

When asked whether children were useful in the village when they finished school he said: "Children who go back home after primary schooling are not very useful in the village because the small training they have gained in primary schools *will always trouble them*. They will not be able to go back to their own traditional ways of life. They will always be thinking about getting a job or going away at least from their own areas or homestead. They will never settle at home. The Local Government Council should step in to find jobs for the Standard 6 leavers. A standard 6 leaver is capable of getting a good job or a job which will fit him.

Those who leave the village get into trouble in towns or go to look for work in towns. Some have gone to be policemen, clerks and also as labourers in plantations. Those who return never stay for a long period at home, they always go back to towns and look for jobs somewhere else.

What we want these boys to do is to train them as drivers, aid post orderlies, Didimen and to come back and help us in our areas, but we can'r at the moment."

When asked, What kind of things would adults like to learn about? He said that they should be trained to start small businesses, train them as doctors, carpenters, and to know about the work of the government.

I then asked him if he thought it would be a good idea to have a community school which adults could also attend.

He thought that this was a very good idea. "If the government suggests this way, then it would be really good for the people, but parents will find it hard to look for food, they will have no time for gardening or visiting other people in other areas."

He strongly believed that children should go to school in the morning and afternoon and was against the idea of children attending in the morning and adults in the afternoon, although he wanted more to attend schools. "I'm worrying about many children not going to school here. This is not very good to me. Parents are also worried about their children not going to school.

People want a school to set up again here and they also want to learn how to run businesses. They want raising cattle and they want the Didiman to teach them".

SECOND INTERVIEW: This was an eighteen year old standard 6 leaver in the Enga sub-district who went to Mount Hagen in 1971 and then to Bougainville to work in the copper mine.

In February 1973 he returned home because he was frightened by the incident which took place at Goroka, that of the killing of the two Bougainvillians. He has been at home since he returned. He said that he hasn't asked for jobs yet but is hoping to do it shortly. His daily work is just to go around places. He said that he is sleeping everywhere.

THIRD INTERVIEW: In the Kandep basin I spoke to an aid-post orderly, aged about 35, and asked him what he would like children to be taught in primary school.

"To follow their teachers and not to be big heads. To learn what the teachers teach them and to learn something about the government and to follow the government law." I then asked him what kinds of things adults would like to learn about.

"Not to fight or steal, not to be big heads but to follow the government laws and to teach people to do these things, and the teaching should be done by teachers. Things we think would help us to live a good life."

When asked if he favoured a new type of community school which adults could also attend he replied: "I think it is a good idea, because if they go home they would learn things within their own areas. Children would be taught how to keep the government laws and how to build roads. The adults would be taught how to follow the government laws just like children". He was against the idea of children attending school in the morning and adults in the afternoon. "No! They would get only a bit to learn in the morning, but if they go to school both in the morning and afternoon, they would learn more."

FOURTH INTERVIEW: This man was also an aid-post orderly, aged about 35, in the Kandep area. He has five children and three of these are at school.

"I've got a lot of children who go to school and it costs a lot of money. *Moni i sot.*" ("Money is scarce")

I asked if children who had been to school were helpful in the village.

"Some do help the village and are useful but some are not, they *hambug*. Thoughtful children after completing their standard 6 do think about what their parents have spent for their schooling and therefore do tend to help their parents and their own village, but some children who do not think this way become *hambug*. I think those who go to school should come back home and help the people.

Similarly, those who have not been to school at all, some do help their people or parents at home but some do not."

When asked about what the children should be taught in school, he replied: "Teach them not to *hambug;* to listen to the teachers until they go to High Schools; the people responsible for these children at the High Schools should find jobs for them and then the children would be able to help their parents at home. It is up to the children to give some sorts of help to their own people and their own parents. For instance, girls should become nurses and shopkeepers."

I then asked him what he thought adults would like to learn about and he replied: *"Lainim ol long harim tok bilong Gavman,* help the village people to *bung wantaim.* Work like carpentering and fixing cars would be of no interest to them if they are asked what they would like to learn about".

What did he think about the idea of village community school which both children and adults could attend and which would replace the present primary schools?

"This seems to me to be a good idea but I think there would be a shortage of teachers in the villages. But if the whiteman says that we should follow the village system then we will just follow what they say. If the Government asks the committees to give their help, then it would probably be a good thing, but still I believe that there would be a shortage of teachers.

What worries us is that it is not the fault of teachers when children to not pass their Primary Schooling, it is because they do not follow their teachers and their advice. For the present time it is not applicable because there is a shortage of teachers to teach in Primary Schools: some teachers teach two classes."

I then asked his view on the suggestion that children attend school in the morning and in the afternoon.

"They should go to school in the morning and in the afternoon. If we let children go to school in the morning only, they would create a lot of problems in their homes - they would be '*hambug*' at home. They would be just sleeping, or go out with other children without helping their parents. They would also come to eat only in the afternoon with giving the slightest help to their parents. In this way it will create quarrels among parents and children.

What worries us is that we spent quite a lot for children to go to school. We want all of our children to go to school, not only to get up to Forms 1, 2 and 3 but when they have completed those levels, they must also get good jobs. If they don't get good jobs then this is what worries us, because we spent our money for nothing if our children do not go to High School.

Also the white man is teaching something about Australia; this won't enable children to get good jobs. I want to see that the children should be taught about the type of jobs they would be able to get after completing their schooling.

Some children who have failed were expelled or chased out from their own families, but some parents would say, Never mind, you have tried your best, let us stay together in the village and work in the garden.

FIFTH INTERVIEW: This was a policeman, aged about 40, who was stationed in the Kandep area but whose home is on the coast.

When asked about the idea of introducing a new type of community school he thought this would be difficult in areas where primary schools had only recently been introduced.

"The children won't get much at all in the morning. I'd rather let them go to school in both the morning and afternoon. I won't give them jobs to do at home because I would be working".

When asked, what kind of things would adults like to learn about, he said: "Just those things which they want to teach us. That is, things they don't know - new things." I insisted on asking what other things they would want or like to learn about, but he replied: "That's all".

I then went on to ask what sorts of things we would teach children in school and he said: "I would like them to learn more about what is good. If I do things which are not good then children should be able to help me out or teach me to do good things. Children should also get more knowledge or save".

SIXTH INTERVIEW: This was an unmarried man, in his early twenties who comes from Tari and who is working for the Catholic Mission as a Catechist in a place near Kandep.

He did part of his primary schooling in Tari but he did his Standard 6 at Erave. After completing his primary schooling at Erave he was then trained as a Cathechist for the Catholic Mission and was posted to an area near Kandep Patrol Post to work among the people there. I'm not quite sure whether he was trained to teach people in the dialect they use around that area but I was certainly surprised when he said that he could read what I was writing when I interviewed him. To check this I decided to test his reading by giving him a sentence which he read very well. Perhaps my underestimation of him was brought about by the fact that he was wearing his traditional dress. I had the idea that Mission and Administration workers should always dress in laplaps or shorts.

However, when I asked him what he wanted children to learn in school he said that people want their children to be able to read and write and to know about the things the white man have. He said that children should be taught ABC, Social Studies and Arithmetic. It is good for children to learn these things. He said that if they know these things then these will help them to know how to speak English. I then asked him why children should speak English, but he hesitated to give an answer. He went on to say that children should be taught something about agriculture, about becoming a doctor and other things. Adults, he said, should also be taught what children are taught, i.e. agriculture etc.

My next question was about the children who have and those who haven't been to school. To this, he said that there is no difference at all with these groups. But he went on to say that those who have been to school are quite useful generally (not particularly in the village) but about the knowledge they've acquired in school. He went on to say that these boys do not become useful when they go away from their own village.

For those who haven't been to school at all, he said, are not useful at all in the village because they too, when they grow up go away from their own village. Then he pointed out that children who do go to school at all or haven't been to school at all are not useful in the village because they learn something about *Tumbuna*. What's wrong with learning and knowing something about Tumbuna I asked him and he said: *"Pasin bilong ol masta i gutpela.* I'd like to know more about *ting ting bilong ol white man*, how to read and write and *save long English"*.

When I asked him what sorts of things would adults like to learn about, he said: agriculture, carpentering and mechanic.

During this interview another man joined us and I asked him what sorts of things adults would like to learn about and he said: "Adults cannot learn anything, they are grown ups already, just like me. I cannot learn anything. *Het bilong mi olosem siton, em i pas pinis."* ("My head is completely solid like a stone.")

NOTE: All these interviews were conducted in April 1973.

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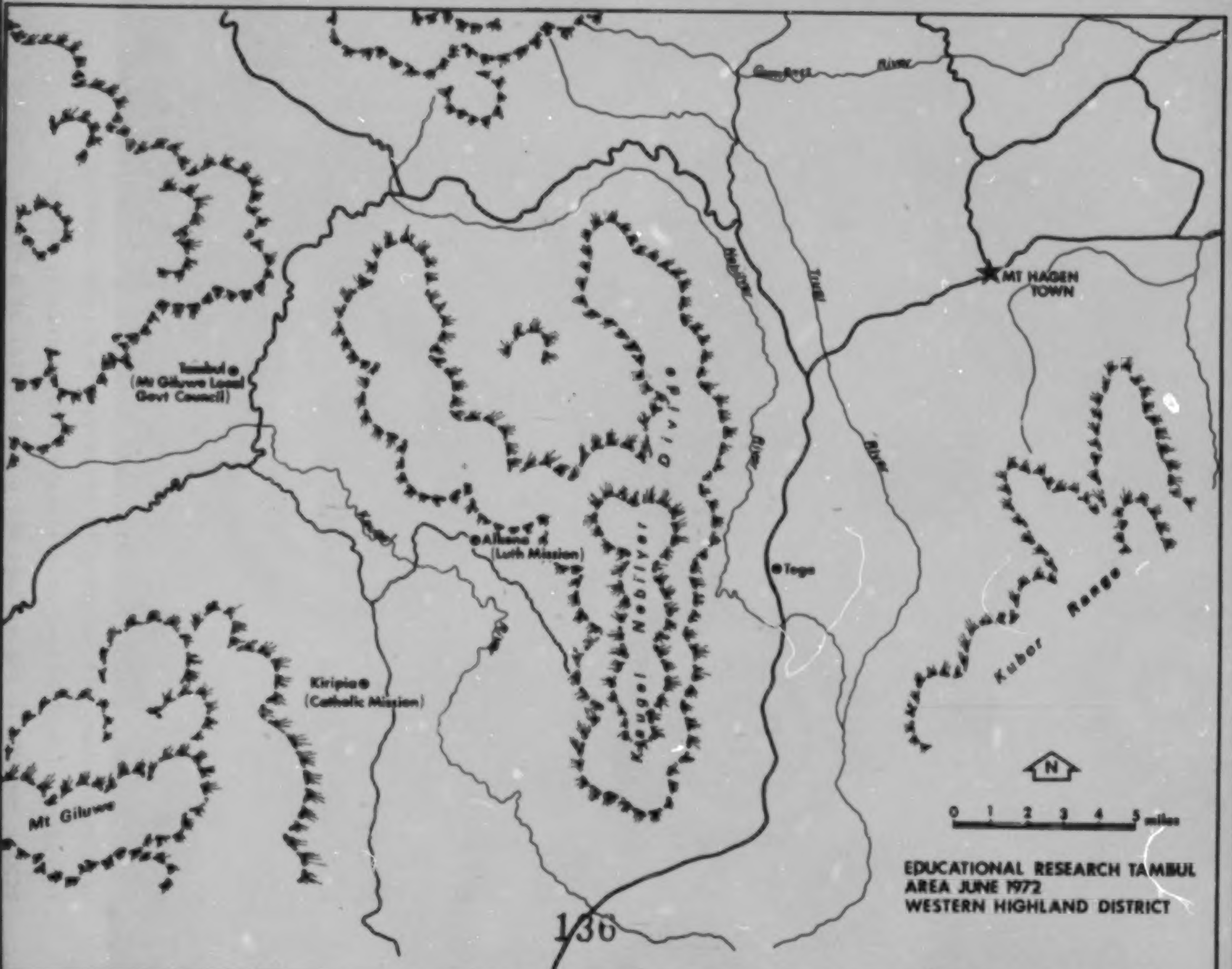

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH TAMBUL AREA JUNE 1972
WESTERN HIGHLAND DISTRICT

Michael Wilson

SCHOOL LEAVERS IN THE VILLAGE

Tambul Primary School. Mt. Giluwe is in the background

INTRODUCTION: In June 1972 a group of about 20 Education staff and students of the University of Papua New Guinea spent three weeks in the Tambul area of the Western Highlands District. Several projects were undertaken, all relating to education in a rural setting, including investigations of village attitudes towards education, school leavers in the village and a pilot trial of a Pidgin literacy course. These projects represent the first stages in a long-range programme aimed at involving UPNG education students and staff in rural development and community education projects which are genuinely based on the considered wishes and needs of the people. The initial aims were to gather information on the village situation and in particular the attitudes of village people toward education and development. This paper is concerned with the situation and attitudes of primary school leavers who had remained in the village.

THE INTERVIEWS: Following the writer's previous work on primary school leavers which involved a wide survey of leavers in various parts of the country[1], it was the aim of this investigation to make a deeper study of leavers in a particular area by means of extensive interviews in the village situation. The interviews were carried out by UPNG education students, some of whom lived in the villages among the people they were interviewing while others walked out from the Tambul patrol post or from Kiripia mission each day to conduct interviews in adjacent villages. In addition 2 students interviewed leavers at Mogul in the Southern Highlands District north of Mendi and one carried out interviews at Tega village in the Nebilyer area west of Mt. Hagen. It was intended that the interviews with leavers should be informal, long and leisurely but to provide a guide to the areas of interest an Interview Guide containing 27 questions was drawn up and an early version of this guide discussed with the participating students before the final version was produced.

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[1] Wilson, Michael: "The primary school and development. A survey of primary Standard 6 leavers." Papua New Guinea Journal of Education, 8, 2 June 1972, pp 91 - 101.

The areas to be covered in the interview included basic personal details, school history, use and relevance of school learning including basic skills, activities in the village and attitudes towards the school, the village and employment. Although the Interview Guide was intended to be no more than an indication of the sorts of questions to be tackled, in practice it was used by students simply as a list of questions to be put one by one to each school leaver. Thus the data on which this paper is based consists largely of fairly brief answers to each question on the Interview Guide although, at the same time, some students did delve more deeply and obtained quite extensive replies.

Outdoor lesson (maths) at Mogul Primary School.

In all, 41 school leavers living in the Tambul area were contacted and interviewed (in addition, 4 were interviewed at Mogul and 4 at Tega) and it seems likely that these 41 included most of the leavers in the area served by the schools at Tambul, Kiripia and Alkena. Towards the end of the period of the visit it became very difficult to find school leavers to interview despite the fact that the presence of the group and its desire to contact school leavers were widely known. Further evidence that this small number of school leavers did represent something close to the total in the area was provided by a survey of the 1971 Standard 6 school leavers conducted at Kiripia Primary School during the visit. (Kiripia was the only school of the three with a Standard 6 output in 1971). This showed that of the 31 pupils in Standard 6 that year, 18 left school and only 7 were still living at home in June 1971, i.e. 6 months after leaving school. In considering the relevance of this to the whole group of school leavers in the area, one must remember that in contrast to the 1971 Standard 6 leavers those who left school before 1971 are more likely to be away from home in 1972 while those who left school before Standard 6 may be less likely to have left. However, both the survey and the small number of leavers in the area indicate a considerable drift of leavers from the area. This result contrasts strongly with the overall result for rural schools found in the writer's previous survey of primary leavers, which showed 75% of children who had left school still at home almost a year later. However, a check of the 2 schools from the Western Highlands District in that survey shows a pattern much closer to that found in the present report, although the numbers involved are small. All this points a strong warning to the dangers of overgeneralisation in these matters - there are clearly considerable differences between different areas both as to the number of leavers and their behaviour patterns[2].

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[2] Brownstein, in a recently published study, (Brownstein, Lewis: Education and development in rural Kenya. A study of primary school graduates. Praeger N.Y.1972) has shown that in Kenya, which has faced this problem for much longer than PNG, the behaviour patterns of leavers are strongly influenced by the level of economic opportunity in their immediate area.

Some further results of this Kiripia school survey may be included at this point as they throw some light on a wider group than that interviewed, i.e. those who left the village after finishing school as well as those who stayed. Of the 31 Standard 6 leavers in 1971 ten went on to high school, two to vocational centres and one repeated Standard 6. Eleven other children had left home, five of them going to urban areas and five to other rural areas while the situation of the eleventh was unknown. Only two of the leavers who had gone to an urban area had found work and both of these were girls, the other three, two boys and a girl, were unemployed. The five, all boys, who had left for another rural area were in a similar position - this time three in work and two out. The seven who had stayed at home were all engaged in subsistence farming except one boy who had found a paid job. None was engaged in cash cropping and in fact a complaint often voiced by adults in the area was that there was nothing for young people to do at home so it was best for them to go to Mt. Hagen. Their faith in Hagen could not be shaken - they knew work was hard to find but at least it was better than staying at home. Thus, returning to the student interviews the first thing to be borne in mind is that the sample interviewed, while representing a high proportion of the total school leavers actually living in the area, probably represents only a small proportion of the total school leavers from the area and their responses must be seen in this context, i.e. these are the minority of leavers who, from choice or necessity, have remained at home.

BASIC INFORMATION: The basic information shows that 38 of the leavers interviewed were boys and 11 were girls. (This reflects the imbalance in the sex ratio in schools in Papua New Guinea and in particular in Highland schools). The age range was from 12 to 26 with a median of 18 and a cluster of 15 at 12-14 years. The leavers homes were scattered over 23 different villages with only 3 villages having 4 or more leavers living in them. The number of years spent in primary school ranged from one half to ten. All but 9 had spent at least four years in school while

17 had been in primary school in seven years which is the length of the complete primary course. 25 students had in fact completed Standard 6 while only 12 had not completed Standard 4. Two ex-students had completed Form 3 in high school and one had completed Form 2. These three ex-high school students were interesting in that they all claimed to want paid employment but were not prepared to go to town where they would almost certainly get it. One said he had left Mt. Hagen High School because the people had tried to attack him. He preferred Tambul "because it's quiet here and not much trouble occurs."[3] At the time of the interview he was teaching Standard 4 at the Evangelical Bible Mission's primary school in Tambul. Another was forced to leave a mission high school due to lack of fees and now prefers the village. The third left Form 2 in 1965 to get a job as an apprentice and is now in the village doing nothing. It must be stressed that these are not typical attitudes and reactions but they do illustrate once more the importance of avoiding easy universal generalisations about school leavers and their attitudes.

The final introductory questions on the Interview Guide asked what schools had been attended and the year of leaving. The great majority had attended either Kiripia Primary School (Catholic) or Tambul Primary School (Administration). They had left between 1963 and 1972 but only 11 had left before 1968. This preponderence of recent leavers together with the cluster of young leavers noted above may well represent a group of young people waiting in the village until they are sufficiently mature physically to venture into the towns. It is also possible that some of the older leavers had been away from home and had since returned.

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[3] Serious inter-clan fighting broke out in the Tambul area soon after we left.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS SCHOOLING: After giving this basic information the leavers were asked why they had left school. 19 were 'push outs' i.e. 'failed' or 'low pass' in Standard 6 or simply not selected for High School. Nine others said they had 'failed' at a lower level than Standard 6. A further eight claimed to have been expelled or dismissed. Reasons for dismissal included absence, lateness and of course, being blamed for something that someone else had done. Four leavers said they had left of their own accord or 'run away'. In one case this was said to be because of a belting by the teacher and in another because 'the teacher told the other students to pull my ears'. There were four leavers who reported that they had not continued with their education for family reasons. Two of these were girls whose families did not approve of them continuing although one had gained entry to a high school. This girl was working in the clinic at Kiripia. There was also one case of a boy prevented in the same way. There is the possibility that some of these stated reasons are rationalisations of failure to pass the primary final examination - however, the fact that many leavers freely admitted 'failure' inclines one to dismiss this interpretation.

The leavers were then asked what they remembered, liked and disliked about school. The first question was intended to try to ascertain what in school had made the greatest impression on them without any prompting from the interviewer. One respondent mentioned teachers and classmates but all others interpreted the question in terms of school subjects. English was mentioned by 20 leavers and Arithmetic/Maths by 13. Other subjects mentioned were Social Studies (5), Science/Nature Study (4), Arts and Crafts (2), Reading (2) and Religion (2). When asked what they liked best at school English again headed the list with 20 mentions, closely followed again by Arithmetic/Maths with 19. The only other subject to get more than 3 mentions was Social Studies (8). While 13 other aspects of Primary School work got a mention one subject which did not was Agriculture. On the other hand, Agriculture does not figure among students' dislikes either. Heading the list of dislikes is Arithmetic/Maths with 9 mentions followed by Social Studies and

Arts and Crafts with 4 each. Other dislikes aired were discipline and punishment by 4 leavers, and fighting by 1. The leavers found it much easier to list the subjects they liked than those they didn't. Whether this reflects on the school or on the respondents' concept of politeness to the interviewers is hard to say. It is clear that in the answers to this group of questions the leavers came up most frequently with those subjects to which they were most intensively exposed, i.e. English and Maths, and it is possible that the responses indicate the subjects considered most important rather than those liked best. Nevertheless, one fact which does stand out is the popularity (or perhaps importance) of English - only one leaver claimed to dislike English in school. Talking to parents at Tambul and elsewhere in the Highlands gives the strong impression that they share this positive attitude towards English to the extent of believing that teaching English is the most important thing which the schools do.[4] A later question asked what aspects of schooling were considered a waste of time. Although this elicited few responses one which did occur was 'teaching in the vernacular'. If this is a widespread attitude it is one which will have to be carefully considered in decision-making on language policy in the schools and will be of the greatest importance in implementing any decision to change the language of instruction in schools.

USE OF BASIC SKILLS: The interview then went on to inquire into students' use of some of the basic skills learnt at primary school. This was attempted for reading, writing and the use of English by questioning the respondents on the use of these skills and also by asking them to undertake a short reading and writing test.

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4. Some justification for this belief is provided by John Conroy and Richard Curtain in Migrants in the Urban Economy: Case Studies of Rural School Leavers in Port Moresby. University of Papua New Guinea, Department of Economics Discussion Paper Number 4. They found that a common characteristic of school leavers who had been successful in finding employment and one which distinguished them from their less successful friends was a good command of spoken English (pp 14 - 15).

Thirty-five (71%) claimed that they had continued to use their skill in reading since leaving school. Twenty-six (53%) said they had read something within the past week and were able to say what it was and a further five (10%) had read something within the past month. Nearly all who read did so in at least two languages usually English and Pidgin and sometimes including the vernacular. Reading in English was mentioned by thirty-two (65%); in Pidgin by twenty-seven (55%)and in the vernacular by thirteen (27%). The reading matter most frequently mentioned was the Bible and religious books along with magazines and newspapers (each mentioned by 15 leavers); also mentioned were library and other books, old school papers and letters.

In order to get a more objective view of the reading skills of these leavers with their differing lengths of educational experience and of time back in the village, they were asked to take a simple reading test. This consisted of six short sentences in English. The sentences were graded in difficulty, the first being roughly of the standard of, in fact taken from, a Grade I reader, the second Grade 2 and so on. The subjects were asked to read each of the sentences in turn. Two marks were awarded for each sentence correctly read, one mark if there was one mistake and no marks if more than one mistake. Thus the maximum score was 12 and the minimum was 0. There were also 3 sentences in Pidgin graded and marked in a similar way, out of six.[5] The mean scores for the whole group were 7.8 (out of 12) for the English test and 4.2 (out of 6) for the Pidgin, indicating that the English and Pidgin sentences chosen were found by the leavers to be of approximately equal difficulty. The results were then broken down by level of education and by year of leaving school as shown in TABLE I.

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[5] This reading test and the writing test described later were designed for the project by Mr. R.K. Johnson.

TABLE I

READING TEST SCORES STANDARD 6 LEAVERS

Year Left School	Number of Leavers	English Score (12)	Pidgin Score (6)
1971	9	9.1	4.5
1970	6	10.7	5.8
1966-69	8	10.4	4.5

Table I shows no significant difference in reading level between leavers in the years shown despite their having been out of school and in the village situation for from 7 months to 5 years. The years 1966-69 are considered together because the number of pupils is small, but in this group there was just one leaver from each of the earlier years 1966 and 1967, and both of these leavers scored full marks on both English and Pidgin tests. While the numbers involved here are small and the test used has not been validated (the results in Table 2 are some evidence of validity) the results are encouraging in that they indicate that pupils who have completed Standard 6 do retain their reading skill to a considerable extent. This must also support the contention of the majority of the Standard 6 leavers that they are able to make use of their reading skills in the village situation.

TABLE 2

READING TEST SCORES ALL LEAVERS

Highest Standard Completed	Number of Leavers	English Score (12)	Pidgin Score (6)
6	25	9.5	4.9
3 - 4	11	6.3	3.0
1 - 2	6	0.8	2.6

Table 2 shows the reading scores of pupils who terminated their primary education at various levels. Here the trend is quite marked. (There is also an element of time out of school involved in Table 2, as there is a tendency for the leavers from earlier Standards to have left in earlier years. However, Table 1 indicates that the date of leaving is not of great significance and this is confirmed by an inspection of the individual dates and scores for the Standard 1 - 4 leavers (not shown)). It is notable in Table 2 that the Standard 3 - 4 leavers had retained a reasonable level of reading skill while the Standard 1 and 2 leavers, all of whom had in fact completed 2 years of education, had retained little or nothing. In fact, four of the six children with only 2 years of schooling scored zero on the English test. There is some indication of greater retention of reading skill in Pidgin amongst those with least education which is of interest in light of the debate on a suitable language for early education. In particular, pupils' literacy in Pidgin must be seen against the fact that Pidgin literacy is not taught or used in school, although it is encouraged by missions in the area.

Information on writing was obtained in a similar way, i.e. by a combination of direct questions and a simple test. The number claiming to make use of their skill in writing was, as might be expected, slightly smaller than for reading but remained high at thirty-four (69%) with twenty-six (53%) writing in English, twenty-two (45%) in Pidgin and fourteen (29%) in the Vernacular. The great majority wrote letters and the only other uses mentioned by more than one respondent were in connection with study or work. Nineteen (39%) said they had done some writing within the last month. The writing test consisted of writing in English the three Pidgin sentences used in the reading test, or if the subject could not read Pidgin he was asked to write two or three sentences describing what he had done that morning. These sentences were written on the form itself so that they could be assessed later. The assessment was carried out by categorising the writing specimens into 3 groups:

(1) 'writes well', i.e. acceptable at the top of the primary school;

(2) 'can communicate', i.e. the writing is not good but it can be understood;

(3) 'little or no skill', i.e. cannot write.

The results of this classification and its analysis by Standard and year of leaving are shown in Tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 3

WRITING - STANDARD 6

LEAVERS

Year Left School	Number of Leavers	Writes Well	Can Communicate	Little/No Skill
1971	9	5	4	-
1970	6	3	3	-
1966-69	8	5	2	1

Table 3 is very similar to Table 1 in that there is no indication of any deterioration of skill with length of stay at home up to 3 or 4 years and again, this supports the leavers' contention that they do make use of the skills gained at school.

TABLE 4

WRITING - ALL LEAVERS

Highest Standard Completed	Number of Leavers	Writes Well	Can Communicate	Little/ No Skill
6	25	15	9	1
3 - 4	11	1	2	8
1 - 2	4	-	1	3

Inspection of Table 4 similarly shows close parallels with Table 2, the most marked features being the distinct rise in skill with length of schooling and the virtual complete lack of skill of ex-pupils with only 2 years education. This lack of skill extends upwards in the case of writing to Standards 3 and 4, with eight out of eleven leavers from these Standards showing little or no ability to write.

The final skill investigated and one held, as indicated above, to be of considerable value by both pupils and parents is ability to use and understand spoken English. In this case the leavers were simply asked whether they heard or spoke English. Thirty-eight (77%) said that they did speak English - most frequently to their ex-teacher and school mates, but also to a lesser degree to European Kiaps, missionaries and other non-Pidgin speakers. A large number (42 (86%)) said that they heard English, again most frequently from ex-teachers, but this time the radio takes second place, although only about a fifth of the sample said that they heard English radio programmes. (Results from questions specifically concerned with radio-listening indicate that some leavers may have forgotten the radio in the context of hearing English). The interview itself formed a simple English 'test'. The interviewers were asked to start the interview in English but to change to Pidgin if and when it became necessary. They were then asked to state at the end how much of the interview had been conducted in English, i.e. 'All', 'Most', 'Some', or 'None'. The results are shown in Tables 5 and 6.

TABLE 5

USE OF ENGLISH - STANDARD 6 LEAVERS

Year Left School	Number of Leavers	'All'	'Most'	'Some'	'None'
1971	8	6	2	-	-
1970	6	6	-	-	-
1966-69	7	5	1	1	-

Table 5 shows a similar result for Standard 6 leavers' oral English ability to that found for other skills, i.e. little or no evidence of any loss of skill since leaving school.

TABLE 6

USE OF ENGLISH - ALL LEAVERS

Highest Standard Completed	Number of Leavers	'All'	'Most'	'Some'	'None'
6	21	17	3	1	-
3 - 4	10	-	-	9	1
1 - 2	5	-	1	2	2

The results here are similar to those for writing rather than reading i.e. only the Standard 6 leavers have a good command of English, from Standard 4 downwards oral English ability is very limited.

Overall the level of use and retention of basic skills is encouraging. There appears to be considerable use of these skills in the village situation despite the fact that this is a relatively remote Highlands area. The level of use of skills is confirmed by the tests which show a high level of retention particularly among Standard 6 leavers. One hesitates to comment on those who left below Standard 5 as the number in the sample is small but there is an indication that Standard 3 and 4 leavers retain some skill in reading but very little in writing or oral English, while Standard 2 leavers retain almost nothing. If the Standard 6 results are valid they provide an interesting contrast to the generally accepted view of literacy retention in low income countries, which is that literacy is soon lost when it is not 'functional', i.e. of some direct practical value. It may be, in fact, that the missions provide this 'function' for literacy as a considerable number of respondents mentioned weekly or even daily Bible-reading. The other main 'function' aiding the retention of literacy is letter writing.

OTHER USES OF SCHOOL LEARNING: The interview next covered more indirect use of school learning. Firstly, the subjects were asked about radio listening habits. Thirty-seven (76%) said that they listen to the radio but only twenty-two (45%) listen regularly, and only seventeen (35%) have access and listen to the radio every day. The programme listened to by most subjects (20) was the news, followed by music (10). Also mentioned were reports about the House of Assembly (6), school broadcasts (4), Pidgin and Hagen programmes (3 each) and the 'Countryman's Session' (2).

A major objective of this investigation was to determine to what extent education was of value in the village situation. The leavers were therefore asked whether people in the village ever asked them to help by doing things which they had learnt at school. Twenty-seven (55%) said they had been asked for such help. Twenty-two (45%) had written letters for village people, fourteen (29%) had read and eleven (22%) had done sums or accounts. Also mentioned by one or two leavers were translating, telling a story, planting pyretheum and potatoes as they had been taught at school, marketing, helping in a trucking business and teaching fishing.

Asked about other activities such as singing songs and playing games learnt at school nearly half said that they did each of these things and others mentioned carpentry, sewing and knitting, which had been continued after leaving school. However, these leavers had rather limited contact with the school now that they had left. Only twenty-one (43%) said they did sometimes go to the school and twenty-seven (55%) sometimes spoke to their former teacher. In view of the fact that there is no organised system of contact between schools and their leavers, perhaps this record is quite encouraging, especially in terms of what could be achieved if activities for former pupils were encouraged by and in schools.

ACTIVITIES IN THE VILLAGE: There is much talk in Papua New Guinea of "village bigheads" - young people who, having been to school, consider themselves above village work and so remain idle at home or sometimes become the cause of trouble. These leavers were asked what were the most important activities in which they took part, and in particular what they had actually done on the day of the interview. Fifteen (31%) said that they had helped in the gardens while eight of these and seven others said that they had helped their family in other ways. Overall all but two said that they helped either in the garden or at home at some time - collecting firewood, housebuilding, feeding pigs and cooking were mentioned several times. Four also mentioned hunting and fishing, two helped in the local church and three had jobs. Of those with jobs one was a carpenter and painter with Kiripia Mission and another (the girl mentioned above who had been prevented from going to high school) worked at an aid post. The third employed leaver had been employed at Mendi in a workshop but was at the time of the interview working in a tradestore, teaching R I in primary school and acting as interpreter at the local mission. One other leaver spent most of his time in Form 2 correspondence studies. On the other hand, thirteen leavers said that they had done nothing on the day of the interview (except come to be interviewed or talk to friends about the interviews) and overall one gets the impression that while most leavers did engage in quite a wide range of village activities, their efforts were rather spasmodic and for many depended simply on how the mood took them. As one put it, *"Sometimes I work in the gardens, when I feel lazy I just do nothing"*.

Most of the activities pursued by leavers were the same as those undertaken by all members of the village community, whether educated or not. It is therefore of interest to know whether the life style of leavers is different, or whether they consider it to be different from others in the community. Thirty-two (65%) said that their life was different, most putting forward the facts that they could read and write and understand English as evidence of this. Others said that their practice of hygiene was different, that they had a better understanding of the changes taking place in the country or that their way of living was "better", "Western", or "Semi European" in some vague way which they did not specify. Two said that they had difficulty in adapting to village life or that they did not know some traditional things which their peers knew. They were the exceptions, most thought that their lives were different and better but gave little convincing evidence that this was, in fact, the case in any material way.

Children gardening at Aikena Primary School

EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: Most leavers seemed satisfied with the education they had received. Only sixteen (33%) thought that any of the things they had learnt at school had been a waste of time with three putting Arts and Crafts and English and two Sports and Maths in this category. Neither were many able to suggest other things which children should learn at school. However, it is of interest that of the suggestions which were made the only one which was made by more than one leaver was for more practical things. This was mentioned by nine of the sample. Particular activities suggested included agriculture (gardening), pigs, poultry, marketing, house building, business, mechanics, home science, banking, woodwork and commerce.

Although most did not seem to see the need for much change in the school, presumably because they were not aware of any possible alternatives, the great majority (39 (80%)) did want to see changes in the village, presumably because they were aware of the possibilities. Although this question asked specifically about changes in the village eleven respondents took the opportunity to state the need for more schools and vocational centres, i.e. further education for primary leavers. A further seventeen wanted to see more rural development, including business and stores, cash crops, poultry and modern pig keeping and water supplies. Also considered important in the village were improved housing (7), better roads (4), health education (4), law and order (4) (mostly to stop fighting but one also wanted stronger control of gambling), more children in school (3), political education (2) and improvements in dress (2). No new ideas - but quite a lot of emphasis on practical village projects. But what of the school's part in village development? A considerable majority (41 (84%)) thought the school did help the village but twenty-five simply said that it did this by educating the children, without being more specific. This seems little more than an act of faith - the school is good, therefore, if someone asks if it helps the village the answer must be yes - because it educates us. However, seventeen did mention practical community help. Most of the specific help mentioned arose from the community education projects started by many schools in 1972. In this area these consisted largely of helping in the village gardens and with house building. In truth the school is diminishing the childrens' contribution in these ways rather than increasing it, in that if children were not in school they would be engaged in these activities for most of the day.

Other examples of school help to the village were leavers sending home money from jobs in town, helping in trade stores, teaching parents better gardening methods and bringing the outside world closer to the village. While most thus thought, if rather vaguely, that the school does help the village, most (40 (83%)) also thought that it should do more. However, their ideas of what it should do were largely more of what it is doing now, e.g. more involvement in community projects, more help in trade stores, improvement in village hygiene and generally more school. Again, there is the idea that the school should relate more closely to the rural situation but, not surprisingly from people who have neither experienced or even heard of anything other than the present school, few specific suggestions as to how the school could tackle the problem.

In order to pursue the matter of the value of the school further the leavers were then asked whether, looking back, they were glad to have gone to school and if they intended to send their own children. Forty-eight (98%) said they were glad to have gone to school. The one who said 'no' gave his reason that the teachers had not helped him enough. He had completed just 2 years of schooling, had run away because he was 'belted', could not read or write, did not think the school helped the village and did not, in fact, want any change in the village. Nevertheless, he was going to send his own children to school! The rest, who were glad to have gone to school, mostly said that this was because they had been able to learn 'new things' and things not known to traditional village life. Specific gains from schooling mentioned were learning to read and write (10), to speak English (7), understanding other parts of the country and the world (6), being able to enjoy life more (2) and enabling one to get a job (2). What was interesting and rather unexpected was that there appeared from many responses to be strong feeling that education was of value in itself rather than simply for later material benefits (of which this group had certainly seen little). Perhaps they are rationalising their lack of obvious material benefits from schooling and attempting to justify seven years in school in ways which they really consider to be of little importance. Nevertheless, one is struck by several responses pointing out that it is 'good' to know things which were not known by people in the village before and to know about other parts of Papua New Guinea and the world beyond.

When asked about education for their own children, forty-seven (96%) said they would send them. One did not know because he did not know whether he would marry and one said 'no' without giving any reason (he was the pupil who ran away from school because the teacher told the other students to pull his ears). The most frequent reason for sending their own children to school was that the children would get jobs (18 (37%)). They also wanted their children to 'get education' (14), to learn to read and write (10), to help the country (8), i.e. become better and more useful citizens), to learn English (5) and to have a good life (5).

One of the objectives of these questions was to find out whether there was any loss of faith in education among these leavers as a result of their own experiences. There is little evidence of this. Although only 2 of the group had jobs, 18 were expecting their children to get jobs after going through school. They also continued to have high hopes of their children helping their country, being better than themselves and simply getting education.

VILLAGE v. TOWN: In order to determine the extent to which their own ambitions had been fulfilled the leavers were asked a series of questions beginning with one about the part of Papua New Guinea in which they would most like to live. Only eleven (22%) wanted to live in their village area although all were doing so at that time. Twenty-one nominated a town, the most popular being Mt. Hagen (the nearest). However, when asked whether they would prefer to live in a village or a town, thirty-six (73%) plumped for village life. Reasons for preferring the village were that one could grow crops (12), that towns are dangerous (9), that they wanted to help parents (8), that life in town depends on money (6) and is hard (3). Most of those who preferred town life said that this was in order to get paid employment (11) while others mentioned meeting people from other districts (2), housing (2)and living a good life (2). When asked which town they would prefer if they were to have a town job thirty-one (64%) chose the town nearest to home - Mt. Hagen, and said that they were choosing it for that reason. There was some fear of going to other centres further away which were thought to be even more dangerous than Mt. Hagen. All without exception said they would like to get a paid job, nearly all saying that this was to enable them to buy more things although some mentioned being able to pay council tax and school fees. By far the most desired items to be bought with pay were food and drink (32) and clothes (27). Others wanted to use their pay to start a business or to build up their savings. There is a vagueness and apparent confusion about getting a job and where one would like to live. All agree that a paid job is desirable but one is left wondering what the real attraction is when most of their pay would be needed just to keep alive in town - as several recognised. While many say they would like to go to town because that is where jobs are to be found and also no doubt because it is expected of the educated and would be a new experience, most seem fairly convinced that life in the village is preferable for several reasons.[6]

CONCLUSIONS: What these school leavers are quite sure about is that they want to earn money - as presumably do all the other leavers who have left the area. However, they are not sure about town life and see real advantages in living at home. There is also virtual unanimity in their view that changes in the village are desirable and quite a lot of ideas about what these changes might be. At the same time these leavers have retained, to a considerable extent, some of the basic skills they learnt at school and have even, in a limited way, used these skills in the service of their home area. Going to town is of course no solution for them. The towns cannot possibly absorb them all, or even a significant minority, into the urban economy - and life in towns for those struggling to enter the monetary economy can be very tough. The only solution to the problem of these leavers is for greater emphasis to be placed, nationally, on village-based rural development as the writer has stressed in a previous paper on the subject.[7] What this paper shows is the considerable potential of village leavers in programmes of rural development and community education. They have some skills, they want change and they are prepared to work - for a reward. Most important perhaps they prefer villages to towns. The big question facing the formal education system would then be what part it could play in a situation involving greater emphasis on rural development. It seems clear that the schools *could* be oriented in this direction and several schemes aimed at just this are under active consideration at present. One point relating to this which emerges from this study is that these leavers (and their parents) find it very difficult to envisage schools in any way different from the ones they know, and what is more they retain great faith in the present system and in particular in the value of English. Thus, if any new system oriented towards the village was to be implemented, a most important part of the job would be the encouragement of understanding and co-operation from those affected in the village, both parents and pupils, to say nothing of the teachers.

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[6] Harris, in a study carried out in Port Moresby of rural leavers in town (Harris, G.T. A study of primary school leavers in Port Moresby. University of Papua New Guinea, Department of Economics, Discussion Paper Number 5, March 1973, mimeo) also found a strong preference for village life and "a very considerable antipathy towards what may be called the quality of life in Port Moresby." A similar finding is reported by John Conroy and Richard Curtain op.cit.

[7] Wilson, op. cit. pp 100 - 101.

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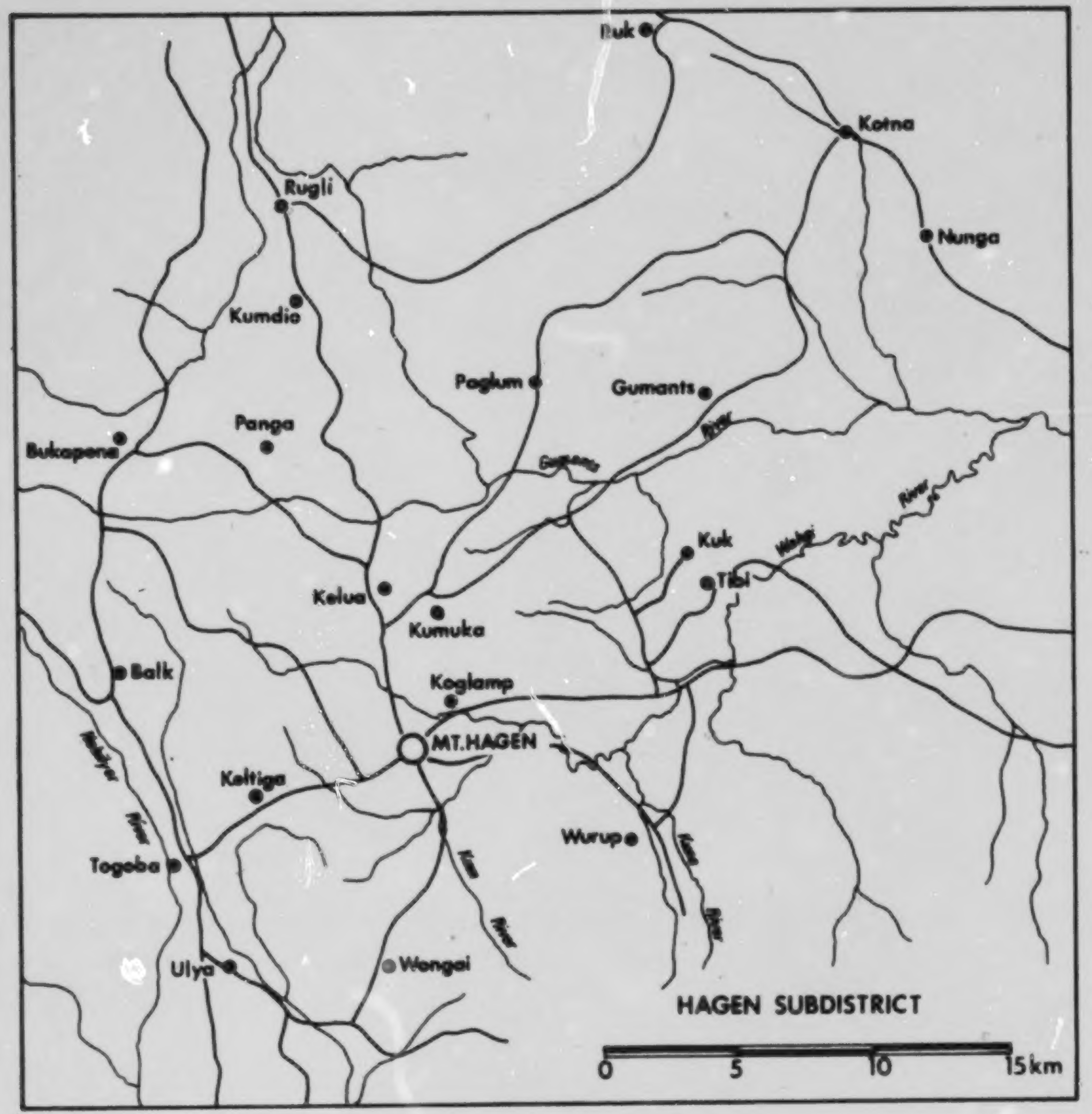
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J.P. Powell

THE USES OF SCHOOLING IN THE HIGHLANDS OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

INTRODUCTION: In low-income countries it is commonplace for a large proportion of the national wealth to be expended upon the educational system, especially the primary school sector, in the hope that this will make a major contribution to economic and social development. Unfortunately, there is little evidence that such a hope is well-founded and a good deal (see, for example: Brownstein (1972), Conroy (1972), Foster (1965)) which suggests that primary schooling, at least in the form in which it is commonly provided, is wasteful of economic and human resources and generates new social, political and personal problems which are very difficult to resolve. In Papua New Guinea (hereafter referred to as Niugini) the government still has many educational options open to it since only 50% of the children attend school and in many populous areas in the interior the percentage is closer to 10%. Several policies for educational development are currently being considered but there is an almost complete absence of relevant background information upon which politicians and planners can draw since almost nothing is known about the impact of schooling upon individuals and communities in rural areas or about the views of the adult population concerning the present educational system and the role of the school in rural development.

In 1972 Michael Wilson and I, with the assistance of students from the University of Papua New Guinea, began to collect data relating to the attitudes of adults and primary school leavers towards the present school system, their views on ways in which the system might be better adapted to the needs of rural development, the use which school leavers who remained in their village were able to make of what they had learnt, the likely demand for adult education and the form which villagers consider it should take. So far our inquiries have been limited to the Western Highlands District but they will be extended as resources permit. Michael Wilson (1973)* has already reported on a survey of school leavers in one part of the Western Highlands and the present paper presents the results of a similar survey carried out in the Mount Hagen sub-district during December 1972 and January 1973.

THE INTERVIEWS: The interviews were carried out by University Students and senior boys from Mount Hagen high school. With two exceptions the interviewers spoke the venacular language and could resort to that if the interviewee was not sufficiently fluent in English. Each interviewer was provided with an interview guide which was a shortened version of the one used in the 1972 Tambul study reported by Wilson. It covered brief personal details, use of the basic skills of reading, writing and speaking English, use of school learning within the village community, views on adult education and preferred living area. Many of the replies which were recorded simply summarized answers to the questions on the interview guide but some of the students succeeding in using the guide as a framework for wider-ranging questions and discussions.

BASIC INFORMATION: Of the 50 leavers interviewed 47 were boys and 3 were girls: although boys far outnumber girls in Highlands' schools girls are undoubtedly under-represented in this sample. The age range was from 12 to 28 with a median of 18: the great majority were aged between 14 and 20 with only 7 aged above 20. The leavers were drawn from 32 different villages. The number of years spent in primary school ranged from two to nine: most had spent six or seven years in school. 58% had been through the full primary programme by completing standard 6 (S6). Only 6 had failed to get as far as standard 4 (S4). 74% had attended government schools and the remainder had attended schools run by various Mission agencies: they had left school between 1957 and 1972.

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* Included in the present volume.

Three boys had been to a high school for periods of 3 months, 6 months and one year. Another was studying the high school Form 1 programme by correspondence. Two were employed as clerks with their local government councils and the young man who had completed Form 1 at high school was working as a bulldozer driver with a large company in Mendi (70 miles distant) and was interviewed while he was home for the week-end. One 27 year old man (S3) said that he had worked on a plantation for a while and it is possible that others had been in employment since leaving school.

The final introductory question sought the reasons for discontinuing schooling. Of the three boys who had attended high school one left after three months because he was "threatened by an enemy", another said that he "ran away" after six months, and the third said his parents could not afford to pay the Mission school fees after his first year.

Almost all of those who completed S6 said that their marks were too low for them to enter high school or that there was not enough room for them in the high school. At present only one third of those who complete primary schooling are permitted to enter high school. Only one put forward what may have been a rationalization of academic failure: "I did my tests when I was sick so I was unsuccessful." It may be that the majority of leavers accept that it is not possible for them to continue on to high school but it is worth noting that in answer to a later question 5 said that they had never visited their former school because they felt too ashamed of their academic failure to be able to talk to the teachers.

Of those who left before S6 a variety of reasons were given for not continuing at school. A girl who left S3 in 1963 said that her parents wanted her to marry so that they could get the bride-price. She commented: "When girls go to high school they play with every boy in town and parents never get any bride-price." Another girl left S5 because her father wanted her back in the village. Two left because their parents could not afford the fees. Four left because the school closed down or there was no teacher for their class. Six gave disciplinary reasons: expulsion, being beaten by teachers, fighting with the teacher. Two said they left S4 simply because they were tired of school - it is hard to think of a better reason!

USE OF BASIC SKILLS: The interview then examined the extent to which the leavers had retained and were making use of some of the basic skills learnt in school. Wilson employed simple skill tests for English and Pidgin but these were not used here: the leavers were simply asked to say how often and what they read and wrote.

16% said that they did not read anything, but of these two were S5 and one S6 who left school two years before and Wilson's findings strongly suggest that they would still retain their reading skill. The remaining 5 had only S2 or S3 and had lost whatever skill they once possessed. 56% claimed to read English and Pidgin, 16% English, Pidgin and vernacular. Thus 78% claimed that they had continued to use their skill in reading since leaving school. 14% said they had read something on the day of the interview, 20% said they had read during the previous day, 60% during the previous week and 6% had read something a month ago. As to frequency, 12% (including the two clerks) said they read daily, 28% twice a week, 40% weekly and 20% rarely.

The nature of the material read was fairly wide-ranging: newspapers (33), letters (24), comics (15), books (7), Bible (7), school newspaper (6), reports from the local government council (3). Eight of the respondents mentioned Our News, a government publication in English and Pidgin versions, as one of the newspapers read by them. It is likely that the category "books" also includes comic books, although several respondents said that they borrowed books from the public library in Mount Hagen. It should be borne in mind that reading matter is very scarce in the villages: old newspapers are highly prized for the making of cigarettes with home-grown and trade store tobacco. A fair amount of reading of old newspapers is probably done during the leavers' frequent visits to stores.

As might be expected writing is a skill which is exercized rather less frequently than reading. Five (10%) of the respondents said that they never wrote anything: these were all S3 or below and had probably lost their skill. 60% claimed to write both English and Pidgin, 14% English, Pidgin and the vernacular, 10% wrote only English, 4% Pidgin and vernacular, and one wrote in the vernacular only. It should be noted that English has been, until 1972, the only language used and taught in government schools. Three people (6%) said that they had written something that day, 38% wrote the day before, 38% wrote a week before, and 18% wrote a month earlier. As to frequency, 12% (including the two clerks) said that they wrote daily, 12% twice a week, 36% weekly and 40% rarely.

The nature of what was written ranged widely but letters were mentioned far more frequently than anything else: 47 times. The bulk of this correspondence was to friends and relatives but 7 people said that they wrote to the radio station requesting a record to be played, a boy of thirteen said that he had written to a bishop, another boy wrote love letters, another reported that he wrote to companies seeking jobs. In a country like Niugini where members of families are often working or studying in widely separated areas and can afford only very infrequent air journeys home the ability to read and write a letter is highly valued and helps to keep the most remote village communities in touch with what their relatives and clansmen are doing in distant places. It seems clear from the interviews that family correspondence is maintained at a surprisingly high level of frequency. Trade-store operation comes next in order of mention (12): writing out orders, stock-taking, accounts, making lists of debtors' names. Other uses of writing were given as: listing children's ages, composing stories and poems, writing down confessions and religious songs, compiling the names of people who wanted a block of land. One boy said that he used his ability to write in order "to practise handwriting"!

The ability to understand English and to speak it fluently is believed, and probably correctly so, by most Niuginians to be the most important attribute required of those seeking employment. When asked whether they spoke English 8 (16%) said that they never did so: all but one of these were below S5. The remainder (84%) said that they spoke English quite often, mainly to other leavers, school children, teachers and government officials. About a quarter (26%) said that they heard English spoken daily, 50% said two or three times a week and 24% heard English only infrequently.

In connection with the oral use of language the interview went on to enquire about radio listening habits: 52% claimed to listen every day, 24% often, 16% infrequently, and 8% never. The most popular programme is the news (mentioned 34 times), next comes music request programmes (25), traditional songs (13), listeners' letters (7), agriculture (3), health (3), religion (3). It should be noted that most of this material would be in Pidgin or vernacular.

OTHER USES OF SCHOOL LEARNING: A major aim of this study was to determine the extent school learning was used in the village situation: did village people ever ask the leavers to help them by doing things which they had learnt at school? 22% said that they had never been asked for such help: all but two of these were below S5. A few said that they had not been asked because there were many leavers in their village. One S2 girl replied: "People never ask me to help them because they do not realize that I have been to school". With regard to one S3 young man the interviewer commented: "They cannot ask him for help because they know he knows nothing and school has done nothing for him."

The great majority (78%), however, said that they had been asked for help. This mainly took the form of reading or writing letters but there was a great variety of things which they had been asked to do. Next to letter writing came interpreting conversations with government officers, coffee buyers and store owners. Other activities included: counting coffee trees, doing the clan's book-keeping, checking money when people wanted to buy a truck, writing business letters for truck owners, stock-taking and ordering in trade-stores, counting and measuring. An unusual activity was: "Keeping a calendar for people who have appointments." Even the S4 girl who had left school in 1963 and admitted that she had forgotten almost everything she learnt there said that she sometimes wrote girls' names on their legs so that they could be tattoed.

The interview then inquired into whether there were other uses for school learning which the leavers volunteered of their own accord to the village community. This threw up an even greater variety of responses: reading the Bible or newspapers; translating stories; telling people about science and how to water plants if it is dry; helping people with hygiene and mechanical work; telling people news of the outside world; assisting the Catholic Father in the village; teaching adults to count; teaching arithmetic and English to small children; teaching people to play football and other games. The recent resurgence of tribal fighting in the Western Highlands has led to another use for school learning which is doubtless highly valued by the combatants. A Missionary told me that when fighting breaks out some school leavers monitor the police radio and warn their elders of the approach of the riot squad so that they are able to take to the bush and elude arrest.

The leavers were next asked if they continued with any of the activities which they had learnt at school. The one most frequently mentioned was playing games; others included: sewing, singing, drawing and painting, physical fitness, borrowing books from the public library, practising health rules such as: "Keeping fingers clean and cleaning inside and around the house." Three (S2,S3,S5) claimed that they had never found any use for what they had learnt at school.

Finally, under this general heading, the leavers were asked if they maintained any contact with their former school and teachers. 52% said that they had never re-visited the school and 48% claimed that they sometimes did so. The latter avowal should be treated with some caution, however, as it is clear from some of the replies that the visits were to medical aid posts or other institutions located close to the school. 44% never spoke with their former teachers: five of these said that because of their failure to enter high school they felt too ashamed to talk to their teachers. 28% said that their former teachers had now left the school but that they used to speak to them; 20% that they sometimes and 8% that they never talked to their teachers.

THE SCHOOL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT: The interview then inquired into the extent to which people felt that the primary schools contributed towards the social and economic advancement of village life. This is a difficult idea for people to grasp, if only because it is widely believed that the whole point of schooling is to offer people an escape from village life, and many of the responses reveal that it was widely misinterpreted. When asked whether they thought that the school helps the village 60% gave a negative answer. Many of the remaining 40% said that schools helped village people by educating their children. About 25% of those who answered in the affirmative claimed that schools had helped to introduce new farming methods, new types of houses and different ideas about health and religion. Two members of this group, however, had interesting reservations. One pointed out: "There is also the disadvantage that many go off to towns to look for jobs and leave the old people to look after their gardens alone." The other remarked: "Schools also produce bigheads and trouble-makers who end up in court and this is no help to the village." One young man made the interesting point that: "Schools mix children from different villages so friendship grows between villages."

The next question invited suggestions as to ways in which the schools could make a bigger contribution to rural development. There was overwhelming support for the schools becoming involved in adult education by teaching or fostering Pidgin and English literacy, business principles, agriculture, games, sewing, political education, current affairs, carpentry, mechanics, health, social activities, community work. There were two suggestions as to how this might be done: conduct classes in the school one afternoon a week (4); send a team of primary school teachers out to the villages once a week (4). Nobody raised the question of extra payment to teachers who take on such work although one man suggested, in answer to another question, that they should be paid by the local government council. One respondent favoured transforming the schools into centres for cultural, social and economic activities through the establishment of clubs for women, artifact shops, sporting teams and the performance of traditional dances for tourists.

When asked what they, as adults, would like to learn everyone (except an S2 who said "nothing") came up with one or more suggestions. The three most popular topics were agriculture (19), mechanics (13) and school subjects(13). Three boys, including the one doing Form 1 by correspondence, were still hoping to enter high school at a later date and so were anxious to continue with the primary curriculum. Next in order of importance came English and Mathematics (10), business principles and trade-store management (10), carpentry (10), poultry keeping (3), driving (3), how to build a permanent house (3), child care, sewing, cooking (2), how the government works (2). Each of the following received a single mention: health, learn to be a doctor, history of Niugini, how to run a projector and so make money showing films in villages, any kind of a job, about other countries, community development activities, painting and drawing, games, traditional crafts, religion.

The next question was intended to elicit ideas on ways in which the primary school curriculum might be modified in order to make it more relevant to village life. When asked whether there were any additional things which should be taught in school 16% felt that enough was being taught already. Among the remainder there was a great deal of support for agriculture (20) on the grounds that it would be useful to those who do not go on to high school. This suggests that the government's decision to introduce agricultural studies in 1973 will receive fairly wide support. Next came business principles and trade-store operation (11), carpentry (7) and mechanics (4) on the grounds that if people are taught more practical things then they will be able to work in the villages and avoid getting into trouble in the towns. There was also support for the teaching of traditional customs (4), cooking and sewing (3) and Pidgin literacy (2).

One way in which the schools could involve themselves in adult education is for them to be used by the children in the mornings and by the adults in the afternoons. It is very difficult to formulate a meaningful question on this topic because it involves people balancing the demands of children against those of adults. In general it seems unlikely that adults would favour any change in the present system which appeared to disadvantage children; further information on this point will be presented in a later paper when the data on adult attitudes to education have been analysed. That these Hagen teenagers are somewhat less hostile towards the idea of adults consuming some of the resources of the school system may be attributed, perhaps, to an expectation that they would be among the adult beneficiaries of any such change in the system.

When they were asked their opinion of the suggestion that schools be integrated more fully with village life and be attended in the mornings by children and in the afternoons by adults 46% opposed the idea, mainly on the grounds that the children would learn less than at present. 54% said that they thought it was a good idea. Several S6 leavers suggested that they could continue with the ordinary school curriculum in the afternoons and the correspondence student saw the advantage of having teachers available to assist him with his Form 1 studies.

When asked whether they would prefer adult education classes to be conducted in the afternoons or evenings 84% favoured afternoons. One young man preferred mornings because he said he always felt tired in the afternoons and evenings. All but one (an S2 boy who commented sadly: "I had my good chance but since I spoiled it I do not wish to learn anything again") expressed a desire to participate in an adult education programme with content preferences virtually identical to the list given on page 158.

LIFE IN THE VILLAGE: The next section of the interview was intended to throw some light on the effects of schooling upon an individual's life in the village community. Are many leavers lazy "bigheads" contemptuous of their elders and of traditional ways? Are they indistinguishable from young people who have not been to school as far as life style is concerned? Just what is the nature of the impact of schooling upon the personal and social lives of village children? This is an important and highly complex question the answer to which requires extensive observation in the field but the present data give some indication of how the leavers spend their time and of their own perceptions of their place in community life and the ways in which they have been affected by their school experience.

They were asked to say what they had done during the day of the interview. Apart from four who claimed to have done nothing the others mentioned the following activities: working at subsistence gardening (14), going to the market (9), working in their coffee garden (6), chopping firewood (3), attending a singsing (2), working in their own trade-store (2), building a house (2), playing footfall (2). The following activities each received a mention: playing cards all day, listening to a village court case, attending a youth meeting, attending a Pidgin literacy class, looking for paid employment, carrying water, assisting parents to establish a pig project.

As to the previous day, ten said that they worked in their gardens so that traditional agriculture, as one would expect, is by far the most important activity for this group of school leavers. Other activities included: hunting (3), visiting friends (3), foraging for mushrooms in the forest (2), going to a party (2), swimming (2), looking after pigs (1), repairing a fence (1). One young man said: "I slept all day yesterday because I had a long walk home after spending all night at a courting ceremony."

It is worth noting that some of the leavers are now going back, together with older villagers, to their former school to assist with maintenance work on the buildings and grounds. Several remarked that when the work is finished they make use of the school's facilities for playing football and other games.

In general it seems fair to conclude that, with the exception of a very small number of activities, these leavers are spending their time in much the same way as do young people who have never been to school. The results of the inquiry into adult attitudes should throw further light on this but more detailed field study is required before a confident answer can be given. But regardless of these other findings, how do the leavers perceive their own place in the village and their relations with their unschooled peers? When asked if their life was any different from that of young people who had not been to school 60% claimed that it was. The remainder included almost all of those who had received less than four years of schooling and half of the latter made the point that although there was no other difference they still had some knowledge of reading and writing.

When asked to say in what respects they considered themselves to be different the following were mentioned: literacy (17), knowledge of the outside world (7), better chance of obtaining employment (2), "I know the number of Districts in Niugini" (1). This tends to support the conclusion that primary schooling makes very little difference to the life-style of those who remain in the rural environment.

Very few comments were made on such factors as hours spent engaging in subsistence agriculture: this is not surprising since these young people were scarcely likely to tell the interviewers that they were idle parasites living on the rest of the community. One of the three who were in employment remarked: "The others have to work harder with hand and spade." A 19 year old S6 (1969) said: "I act different from them and when we go around with other village boys they always think I am better off than themselves. The village boys work harder than me. I do very little hard work like digging drains in the garden."

The interviews provide a good deal of evidence, however, of the psychological effects of school attendance upon a variety of attitudes. Much of this involves seeing village life in a rather different and usually unfavourable light, or in feeling disappointed at not being able to live in a different manner from other villagers, or in believing (despite the fact that it appears to have no utility) that in having been to school one possesses something of value. These responses are illustrated in the following quotations.

A 20 year old S4 (1963) girl who is now married and living a traditional village life said: "I don't like living in the pig house but the others who haven't been to school live in the pig house. There are a lot of disadvantages: my clothes get dirty and the house is inhospitable to live in." An S2 boy said that he was different because he did not want to live at home. Another claimed: "I feel that I am missing out on the opportunities which I should have had after going to school but the village children don't feel that way." One said: "I feel I am superior to them." And another: "I feel I possess something more valuable and hard to get."

Some of the leavers claimed differences which would in fact show up in their life style: hygiene, cleanliness, looking after clothes, and eagerness to learn: "He who is half educated has a view to learning more of what was taught in school while those who have not been to school haven't the slightest idea." Two even hinted that there were some disadvantages to schooling. One of the girls said that she was no different except that "Some things people say I don't understand." And a 15 year old S6 boy said that the only difference was literacy and the fact that: "In village social life the boys who haven't been to school do better than the boys who have been to school."

This is an extremely interesting topic not only from the theoretical point of view but also because of its relation to the very practical issue of the potentially very dangerous political and social consequences of creating a large frustrated, disappointed and disaffected class of unskilled half-educated young people who are alienated from traditional life but unable to find a place in the modern sector of the cash economy. The data presented here would appear to suggest that schooling has not had that effect in the Hagen area but it must be stressed again that these are based solely upon the perceptions of the young people themselves and may not reflect social reality.

VILLAGE VERSUS TOWN: Closely related to this topic is the issue of migration to urban areas and the effects of schooling upon this. The interview asked the school leavers in which part of Niugini they would like to live. 42% said that they would prefer to live somewhere in the Highlands and of these 18 preferred their home village because their relatives are there, the food is good and it has "everything you need." Two said that they would prefer to live in the nearest town so that they could go home at week-ends. The remainder (10) opted for anywhere in the Highlands because throughout the whole area there is a good climate, plenty of land and food, and few poisonous snakes.

Over half (58%) expressed a preference for living on the coast and gave the following reasons: more jobs, less tribal fighting, warmer climate, plenty of betel nuts, good fishing, more interesting, gardens easier to work. Several named particular coastal towns as being desirable places in which to live: Port Moresby (4) - more jobs, cheaper prices, higher wages, full of activity; Bougainville (3) - plenty of work in the copper mine; Lae (2); Sepik (1); Madang (1) - good place to set up a trade-store.

When asked whether they would prefer to live in a town or the village 64% opted for the latter mainly for the very sensible reason that: "You cannot live in a town without a job to earn money to buy food." The main attraction was the low cost of living (18) followed by a lower likelihood of getting into trouble with the law (10), personal safety and security(7), opportunities for learning customs and joining in village activities (3) and: "I can work according to my own time" (1).

Of the 36% who expressed a preference for urban living 11 were attracted by the employment possibilities although 3 of these said they would only migrate to a town if they could be sure of getting a job. Other advantages of town life mentioned were: entertainment (7), better shops (2), opportunity to see new things (2), healthier environment (2), more police (1), good houses (1), opportunities to better oneself (1).

This suggests that, for hard-headed reasons, most leavers can see no advantages in moving to an urban centre; but it should be remembered that nearly all the respondents were living within fairly easy reach of Mount Hagen which is a rapidly growing town with a cinema, plenty of shops and the amenities of a comparably sized town on the coast.

CONCLUSIONS: The findings presented here are similar to those reported in Wilson's (1973) Tambul study and it is likely that similar results would be obtained in most parts of the Highlands. What can we infer from them that would be helpful in determining educational and developmental policy? Two basic points need underlining at the outset. First, the present school system contributes very little in any direct way to rural development. Secondly, primary education may be dysfunctional in several respects: it consumes large resources which might be better allocated to other developmental projects; it alienates children from village life and reduces their potential contribution to it; it encourages migration to urban centres and thus gives rise to social problems in both towns and villages; it results in unquantifiable but widespread personal frustration and unhappiness among school leavers; it is creating a rapidly growing class of disaffected and partially de-tribalized young people who may later constitute a threat to the political stability of an independent Niugini.

There is little doubt about the validity of the first of these points and most of the leavers' evidence supports it. The second set of assertions is more contentions and the evidence for them less clear. The present findings do not support the suggestion that leavers are alienated from village life or are particularly unhappy with their lot although, as was pointed out earlier, the data need treating with caution on this point. Since we do not know what proportion of leavers have emigrated from the area it is not possible to estimate the influence of schooling on rural depopulation. However, in view of the rapidly growing number of school leavers in the Highlands it would seem reasonable to suppose that the great majority of those who do not enter high school remain in their home area or its environs.

There would appear to be a good case for closing the gap between the school and the village by making the curriculum more relevant to rural life and by involving the school in community activities. It is government policy to implement such changes and they will undoubtedly be supported by a majority of school leavers and perhaps by a great many adults who have become aware of some of the deficiencies of the present system. There is an equally strong case for a much heavier investment in adult education as many of the respondents pointed out, but this will almost certainly have to be achieved at the expense of the primary education sector and this will be unacceptable to many parents.

Wilson is correct in arguing that the main thrust of developmental policy should be aimed at the village level but his suggestion that school leavers have considerable potential as agents for rural development needs to be treated with some caution until validated by experience or at least supported by the opinions of adult villagers. It may be that, for the present anyway, unschooled young men and women who are anxious to be involved in grass-roots community development will prove more acceptable and more effective agents of social and economic progress in rural areas than those who have been to school.

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NOTE: Valuable discussions of many of the issues treated in this book are contained in:
Foster, P. and J.R. Sheffield, eds., (1973) *Education and Rural Development*. The World Year Book of Education 1974. London: Evans.

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SECTION 4

VARIOUS PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

A COMMUNITY-BASED EDUCATION SYSTEM

There are frequent references in the papers in this section to the University of Papua New Guinea Educational Research Unit's proposal for a community-based education system. As the original document (Kemelfield 1972) is now out of print we reproduce here a summary of the proposal.

This summary was originally prepared by Planning Branch of the Papua New Guinea Department of Education (with whose permission it is reproduced here) in consultation with Graeme Kemelfield, and published as part of the Proposed 5 Year Plan (Papua New Guinea 1973).

A COMMUNITY-BASED EDUCATION SYSTEM *

One strategy for educational development in Papua New Guinea is to radically re-orientate the present education system. The UPNG Educational Research Unit's recent proposal for a community-based education system provides such a strategy. This proposal suggests that much of our educational effort and resources should be re-directed towards helping to build up a future for our children through the social and economic development of rural communities, where most will live their lives. The system would concentrate as much on this as on meeting higher level manpower needs. The proposal suggests that education directed towards rural improvement must cater for adults as well as children, as adults make up the largest part of the country's present human resources for development. A programme of fundamental education for communities as a whole, therefore, provide the basis of the proposal. (This approach is one which has been followed by some other countries with similar problems to those in Papua New Guinea).

The original proposal outlines a long-term strategy which could be gradually introduced over a period of years. A necessary prerequisite would be the vigorous implementation of government policies for rural development. A revised proposal which could be implemented over a shorter period of time has since been prepared, and both will be described.

THE ORIGINAL PROPOSAL: The community-based education system as originally planned would be divided into three main sections:

Level (1) COMMUNITY SCHOOLS.
These would not be schools like the present ones, but community education centres offering a village-level meeting place and resources centre for informal

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* NOTE: This is reprinted, with permission, from: Proposed Five Year Plan, Port Moresby: Papua New Guinea Department of Education, November 1973.

education programmes. Centres would have an organiser nominated by local communities (Ward Education Officer) who would be given some training and paid through the local council, with central government subsidies provided where necessary. A range of teaching resources would be drawn on. These would include considerable use of radio (and possibly T.V.), as well as film and tapes for communityforums, participation by High School staff and students and tertiary students, the use of more mature school leavers (as part of national community service) for instructing children in basic literacy, numeracy etc., and visits by extension workers from government departments, e.g. Agriculture, Health, Business Development, SD & HA and voluntary agencies, operating as a team. These would be co-ordinated at sub-district level by a Community Education Officer, who would be the key figure in planning educational programmes in accordance with community needs and wishes. He would work in collaboration with an LGC Community Education (or Rural Development) Advisory Board. These personnel, under a national co-ordinator, might be placed within the proposed Department of Area Development.

The content of adult community education would be largely determined by the wishes of communities themselves, but would basically consist of a practical extension programme related to what people need to know for their own welfare and self-help, and providing on-the-job skills and knowledge to assist them in small-scale agricultural and business ventures. These would include functional skills such as literacy, numeracy and book-keeping. Other components would relate to knowledge of local and world affairs, what people in other places are doing to help themselves, how to take advantage of government agencies, entertainment and sport.

Education for children would be mainly concerned with the provision of basic vernacular and/or pidgin literacy and numeracy, and would include simple projects (including some science), games and songs, health and expression, as well as participation in some of the adult programmes. This was originally described as a four year programme, comparable to standard 1 - 4. The authors, however, suggest that it is better understood as a flexible programme of initial education, available until children are twelve years old.

Substantial quantities of cheap materials would need to be prepared and funded for basic literacy and numeracy instruction in pidgin or vernaculars. It has been estimated that subsidies for the salaries of Ward Education Officers might amount to between $2 and $5 million per year, if paid at the level of Health Education Orderlies. The possible introduction of such village-level workers is, however, already under discussion by the government. While substantial funding would be needed for the proposed introduction of community education, it would involve a re-allocation of expenditure in relation to overall central government planning rather than simply an addition to the education budget.

Community school activities would be held in buildings supported and maintained by the community using them. Present primary school buildings would NOT be used. These would be used at the next level - the Middle School.

Some of the advantages of having community education centres are seen as -

- allows everyone in the community opportunity for basic education

- allows new knowledge and basic skills to be shared between adults and young people

- allows children to remain in their local community, and to spend considerably more time with their families, where they can absorb traditional skills and knowledge

- encourages community participation in decision-making and development.

Level (2) MIDDLE SCHOOL.

The present primary school buildings and staff would house and teach the Middle School pupils. (These schools would offer a four year programme open to children between the ages of 13 and 16), the first two being equivalent to standards 5 and 6 and the last two equivalent to forms 1 and 2. Teachers with form 2 and above education would handle the top forms. As the change from Primary to Middle Schools would not be expected to take place for at least six years, while pilot Community Schools were established, a number of teachers better qualified to handle these top forms would become available through pre-service and in-service training. Emphasis would be placed on sound basic literacy and numeracy attainment, including the introduction of English into the curriculum, with High School taking responsibility for more advanced science, social science, maths etc.

Pupils in the Middle School would spend half their time doing academic school studies. For the other half of their time they would be engaged in activities called Community Skills and Service (including preparation of pupils for later teaching in the Community School). The purpose of this division is to provide all children with an equal chance to proceed to further education, but also to engage them all in local-level activities which could be of value to them and to their communities, particularly for those who will not be selected for further education at the end of Middle School.

Among the advantages of the Middle School are that it -

- occupies students in the troubled 13-16 year old age group, and could eventually provide a universal intake of students in this age group as its four year programme will enable the release of teachers.

- enables students to remain in their local environment and not a secondary boarding school environment up until the age of 16 or 17.

- delays selection until pupils are physically and mentally mature enough for employment or training.

- gives all students equal opportunities for continuing on to further education, and also for engaging in activities relevant to a future life in their local communities.

Level (3) FURTHER EDUCATION.

Following on Middle School, High Schools would now run from Form 3 to 6, for a selective group entering at age 17, and would be more in the spirit of a senior high school. Present secondary staff and buildings would teach and house the high school students. It is, however, anticipated that enrolments in the new higher secondary system would be reduced below the normal form 1 intake level, thus allowing savings capable of offsetting the additional resources needed for staffing and financing Community and Middle

Schools. Students successfully completing the four years of high school would then be further selected to go on to Tertiary.

In General, the principle is stressed that there should be as wide a diversification of training as possible following universal education to form 2, with high school (and tertiary) entrance restricted according to manpower needs, and treated as only one among a number of available options. These include expanded technical and agricultural training schemes, trade apprenticeships, on-the-job training etc.

IMPLEMENTATION - The proposal is viewed as a long-term one, initially requiring extensive consultation and discussion with members of local communities, teachers and representatives of government and voluntary agencies. A programme of public education about problems of education and employment would also be necessary. Most importantly, it would require the vigorous implementation of government policies for rural development in order for it to have a context in which it could succeed. For these reasons, pilot projects for Community Schools in selected areas are initially recommended. This would enable the new approach to be tried out and evaluated in practice. It would allow people from other communities to observe how it was working, and to draw their own conclusions about it. And it would provide time for training programmes to be established and materials developed.

Only the main points and possible problem areas in the Education Research Unit's proposal have been dealt with here. For a more detailed view of the proposal the reader is referred to the University of Papua New Guinea's Education Research Unit Report Number 3. A Community-Based Education System - A Proposal (1972).

THE REVISED PROPOSAL: This offers a way of re-orienting the education system with less drastic structural change. The overall strategy suggested is as follows:

1. Expansion of the present type of primary education would be limited to allowing disadvantaged districts to catch up to the level of a 50% intake of pupils. This would be to avoid increasing the problems already facing the country with regard to school leavers and unemployment. Existing primary schools would be further re-oriented towards community living.

2. In areas where there remains a shortage of educational provision, informal community schools (along the lines described in the original proposal) would be introduced, with their emphasis on community development. Community education centres would also be started alongside primary schools, in order to cater for adult education.

3. High school expansion would be restricted according to manpower planning and employment estimates, and the emphasis placed on catering for a wide range of community needs, agricultural and technical training schemes etc.

Some features of this approach are:

Community Schools - Community education would be at a pace which corresponds to the actual implementation of government policies for rural development, and in line with public response. It would aim at the mobilisation of human resources at an age when people are able to make their greatest contribution to social and economic developments. The programmes of community education centres, and of re-oriented primary schools would be related as closely as possible, and this experiment would help to decide the most satisfactory way of providing basic education for the future.

Re-oriented Primary Schools - The model suggested for transforming the primary schools includes:

- an initial two years of pre-school vernacular and/or pidgin literacy learning, taken by school leavers who would be prepared in their final school year for this community service. Pre-school might further include games, songs, etc. and would run for about two hours a day.

- a four year school programme, equivalent to primary standards 2-6, but without the burden of learning English. An integrated curriculum around the theme of 'our community and the land we live on' would be introduced. Half the pupils' time would be spent in the classroom, the other half out of school engaged in learning projects, in the normal productive activities of the community, and in learning traditional customs and skills. This would last until pupils are twelve years old.

- a further two or three year programme similar to community secondary education would complete the school curriculum. This would be more specialised, however, including the introduction of English, and the employment of agriculture, business and local craft instructors for the teaching of commercially viable skills. Agricultural and business ventures would be encouraged to help make the school self-supporting. Pupils would also participate with

> adults in community education centre programmes, and emphasis would be on the integration of the majority back into useful and productive work in their communities.

The ERU's revised proposal also recommends that carefully planned and evaluated pilot schemes should precede the wide-scale introduction of such a system, and that Head Teachers, Community Education Officers and community members should be given freedom to experiment with the kind of programme which best suits their local circumstances. Particular attention would need to be paid to how such a system could be adapted to urban needs.

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Mesulam Aisoli

GRASS ROOTS EDUCATION: A PROPOSAL

Education in Niugini has a variety of connotations based on what people consider are the successes or achievements of the system. Evidence shows recently, from a variety of research work carried out in the Highlands of Niugini, that each group or community has its own definition of education but it is strongly based on the assumption that education means a good job and good money.

For instance, Educational Fieldwork Reports on the Kainantu area (Wilson, 1973) states, and I quote: "The boys pointed out that their parents expected them to go out and earn money by working for whitemen in town after they finished from the vocational school."

Parents themselves see education in terms of future investment or what school graduates will provide for them in return. Kainantu Fieldwork Reports clearly indicate the parents' view, and I quote: "All parents wanted their children to go to town and work for money. One fellow stated that he did not want his son to go back to the village. Instead he wanted him to find a job in a town area and earn money."

It is evident throughout the country that those who have gone through some kind of schooling based on the present system of education are usually unwilling to settle back among their people in the village community. During the Kainantu Fieldwork, a father was being interviewed about whether he would help his son to start a business project of his own.

In reply he said: "... those children did not want to come back to the village even if we want them to. They wanted to work for whitemen."

These sorts of attitudes clearly reflect most parents' great expectation of what education should bring them. The mere presence of a child in a vocational centre for a period of one year is still assumed to be an investment to support a family. Niuginians have been exposed to the material world of the west, and it is difficult to deny the fact that most parents and the general public see education as the key to attain the wealth of the west. This strong belief about education has a big influence on the people and causes them to ignore their own traditional values and culture. It is a myth that drains people's efforts and energy and they become discontented, confused and practically unable to help themselves when they fail to obtain what is expected of the system.

Despite the dreadful outflow of "School Pushouts" in the Niugini education system, the general public still holds the belief described earlier in this paper and it is extremely hard to alter the present system immediately.

ERU PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE SYSTEM: In this paper I am attempting to evaluate the Educational Research Unit's (Kemelfield, 1972) proposed Community-Based Education System and find out whether the members of the ERU group really considered the belief, which I mentioned in my introduction and which is strongly held by most Niuginians, before introducing this proposed alternative scheme. In other words, will this proposed alternative scheme satisfy what most parents expect of the present education system in Niugini?

The ERU deserves praise and thanks from the Education Department of Niugini and its educators for such constructive efforts shown in the proposal. Niugini is fortunate to have such a group of creative thinkers who at the same time show awareness and concern for the inefficiency of our present education system and are prepared to do something about it.

WHY CHANGE?: The impression one would have after reading the lengthy discussion about reasons for change is that it is based on a particular abstract philosophy of life which I believe would still be hard to explain to the general public, especially the majority of the population in the rural areas of our country.

Although the group covers a good number of pages to discuss these reasons I don't intend to follow the same pattern; but I would rather like to summarise it into four brief categories based on what the ERU members consider as the inefficiency of the present education system.

They imply that we cannot keep the present education system for the following reasons:

1. It is a Psychological Failure

   That children are taught to want what they cannot have. School gives children high expectations which are not possible for most of them to attain. "School Pushouts" get frustrated and become problem-makers, especially the unemployed. Their self-respect is often killed and they lose the desire to do things for themselves.

2. It is a Social Failure

   We are making classes in the society. The rich get richer and the poor think they are the failures of the society. The gap between the educated elite and the uneducated people is increasing. Children are being alienated from their village agricultural society.

3. It is an Educational Failure

   Our teaching does not always mean something to the children and is often bad. Children who leave school after learning English for six years lose it very quickly. Some subjects they are taught they will never use in their lives in the village community.

4. It is an Economic Failure

Our schools cost a lot of money and we cannot make enough money to train enough teachers or to give the same education to all of our children. "School Pushouts" should be utilised in the scheme as teachers for lower community schools.

HOW CAN THIS INEFFICIENCY OF OUR PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION BE MADE UNDERSTOOD BY THE PUBLIC?: The unfortunate things about such problems is that they are only seen by the academics or professionals and are rarely understood by the mass of people even though they are the ones who are directly affected.

Towards the end of 1972 a group of students visited the Western Highlands District and I was one of them. After spending a number of days in Hagen, I learnt that in 1972 alone, 20,000 Standard 6 "School Pushouts" could not continue their education at High School that year. This is 4,000 more than the "School Pushouts" of the Central District in the same year.

In the New Ireland District, my uncle's son, who walked twice a day the six miles separating our village from the school was pushed out at the beginning of this year. A good number of the other pupils were in the same boat. Evidence of this sort of thing is true elsewhere in our country. Yet, these same people still ask for more schools and keep sending young children to the nearest school in the area regardless of its distance and the expense. There must be something good in our school system, mustn't there?

MY IMPRESSION AND OPINION OF THE ERU PROPOSAL: I agree in principle that the attempt is leading in the right direction but I suspect serious conflict between parents' expectations and aspirations and how the proposed scheme is to be implemented.

The present education system has developed wrong attitudes towards gardening and other manual activities. For instance, from my past experience in both primary and secondary schooling, heavy gardening work, heavy grass cutting, heavy ground work and building activities of various kinds were set aside only for punishment purposes. It was an effective way to teach children to hate gardening, etc., and it was effectively included in the school programme or rules. Today evidence of this sort of thing is known and it is still practised in schools in some parts of Niugini.

Last November 1972, a group of students in Hagen High School were punished by doing hard work after school hours for three days. They were shy when a 'comrade' and I asked them why they were working so late in the day. One reluctantly responded: "punishment".

I wonder whether the ERU group have seriously considered this particular aspect which I believe has a very strong psychological influence on anyone who has gone through a system that is based on such a programme.

The proposal emphasised utilising the present "School Pushouts" to become teachers of the proposed community schools. I assume there would be good response when it is newly started, but from my experience, I could foretell that it will come to a destructive end merely because it is contradictory to traditional pattern of leadership. As soon as an untrained, immature, childish teacher made a small mistake among the adults in the community, he would be quickly kicked out; all his school mates (teachers) would therefore be on the same boat to hell. In other words, they would not be trusted any longer. Therefore the proposal could be seen as an excuse to tame the frustrated youths who are pushed out of our existing education system and blamed for causing the increasing crime-rate in the country.

It seems to me that the proposal will only cause enormous confusion in the whole country if we immediately change what we have now. We have to accept, too, the real fact that there is diversity in Niugini and this contributes to the unbalanced progress (in the modern term) seen throughout the country. The majority in the rural areas still do not understand the reasons behind so much change now taking place, and if this proposed scheme is to be implemented now, people won't really understand it either because they won't see what is is all about anyway.

One of the implications one would see is that it is a good way to trap a person in his environment so that he remains static in his culture. It is sad to say that this assumption is really wrong.

A social scientist would say that culture changes when it is interacting with another imposed culture and thus forms a modified one. As I said earlier in this paper, Niugini is exposed to a modern world of new ideals based on progress and development and it will be extremely hard to tell people to do what is better for them based on what philosophy we (academics) have in mind. We cannot isolate Niugini from the world of progress towards making nuclear bombs and high aspirations to escape to the moon or elsewhere! Can we?

It is also proposed that the Local Government Council should play a major role in the implementation of the proposed scheme. We are only joking to suppose that the public would immediately see their educational salvation through the Local Government Council institution which at present desperately needs salvation itself.

John Kasapwailova of the Milne Bay District is working against the present Local Government Council Institution. The Mataungan Association in the Gazelle Peninsula of the East New Britain District is also anti-Local Government. The Lovangai Council of New Hanover of the New Ireland District is struggling to survive under the high pressure of the newly formed association called T.K.A. (Tuk Kuvul Association) which means "stand together and work together" and is derived from the Johnson cult in the area. Similar associations are common throughout the coastal regions of Niugini as revolts against mysterious, colonial, imposed institutions. The success of any Area Authority in any district would depend entirely on the good results of its Local Government Council. At present all Area Authorities just established recently have had very little successful results and therefore we cannot assume that it would be much more effective than what the Local Government Council Institution has been doing in Niugini. So much experiment has been imposed on people and therefore enormous confusion is established and many locals find it difficult to understand what it is all about, what benefit one receives from it and, who it will benefit, and when will this benefit come. So much failure in Local Government Institutions, Co-operative Societies, etc., that this country has experienced is due to the fact that human beings were being used as Guinea-pigs. Experience shows that often locals worked purely for the instructor's profit. An effective way to drain out any cents in the natives' pocket is to leave them in the darkness of modern institutions.

The proposal is not even clear about what land is to be used, whose land and how to get the piece of land. Land problems are the big political issue in Niugini today. No one has ever yet come out with a good answer to it. In 1968, 7½ acres of land was given to Tikana Local Government Council of Kavieng based on the assumption that the council would benefit the people of the area better when it is established in the rural community. The land was given on the free-hold agreement, but when the council centre moved to Kavieng town in 1970, people started to ask the council to give their land back with the council buildings built on the land and these buildings are still vacant today. So the land, the council houses, the store and the garage are all under dispute at the moment.

To mention community land is not good enough because its community is made up of a good number of family groups based on clan identity. Each community therefore has diverse land tenure structure that governs the rights of certain groups to obtain a certain piece of land based on certain rules of the society. So serious consideration must be taken along this line before any plan to develop rural areas is being considered.

The proposal also mentions two trial years for a pilot project. The proposal seems to indicate that after two years, success of the project will eventuate, therefore two years would be sufficient to assess the scheme. Any individual person can question such a limited period of time mentioned because to educate human beings takes years to really know that they are fully equipped professionally.

From personal experience, I can clearly recall how many years it took me to come up this far. I spent approximately,

5 years primary
3 years middle school
4 years secondary
2 years Teachers College
½ year Headmaster's Course
4 years University.

From Primary to Teachers College level, I spent 14 years in a private agency (Methodist Church Education System). All through this period there were all sorts of things that happened because the Methodist Church then was experiencing pressure from the Government of Niugini, particularly from the Education Department. I wonder whether two years is sufficient to survive the Departmental constant reshuffle of ideas and new methods being introduced. Presumably the proposed scheme has something miraculous to offer in two years to the community that has never been done in past years by the Churches and the previous Government of this country.

MY ALTERNATIVE SCHEME: Being so critical about the ERU proposed alternative, I am confident to provide a better one and argue why it is better and justifiable for a country like Niugini, based on its societal life-style.

My idea is based on personal experiences of common education problems that we all often talk about, read about, hear about and argue about in meetings, etc. Besides this, I have seen attempts taken by the Department of Education and private agencies to combat these common educational inadequacies in Niugini.

I have read with great interest the proposed alternative recommended by the ERU of our University of Papua New Guinea and this greatly influences my way of thinking. Furthermore, "Alkena Yangpela Didiman" (Samana,1973) established in the Kaugl Valley of the Western Highlands District by the Lutheran Mission slightly brought some light into my mind and confirmed that my alternative should be applicable, practicable, justifiable and easy to implement.

My suggested alternative scheme has three major educational institutions:

1. Higher Institutions
2. Senior Institutions
3. Village Community Institutions

As far as I am concerned there is little to worry about in regard to Nos. 1 and 2 because there would be very little change taking place at those levels. I would like to concentrate more on No.3 which I believe would affect the majority of our population in the country.

VILLAGE COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS: To be effective administratively this level should be also called "Grass Root Education Division".

It should be made understood that this division is completely separate and a complete institution in itself. It is also governed by an entirely separate body known as Village Community Education Board (V.C.E.B.) which is another board that should be comprised of a good number of each community representatives. This board should be given full responsibility to run the Village Community Institutions.

The basic principle of this division is to have a loose programme system of organisation which is a new idea based on traditional pattern of life of most Melanesian societies. I will give details on this point later.

However, the general education of a child is increased to eight years as a general preparation for him to undertake any practical training in the community training centre to enable him to continue on his own land or with his parents' own project. For instance, a child begins at the age of six years to attend Standard 1. He continues to Standards 2, 3 and 4 in the community schools until he turns 9 years old.

Involvement Age (De-schooling period)

From the age of 10 - 11 (2 years) a child stops attending school classes but participates fully in his community activities based on what parents choose as important for him to do. This is extremely significant because often there is criticism based on the assumption that school alienates kids from their true environment. This period allows children to really experience the real life of their own people in the community. There should be a small library system set up in each community for those who are willing to have constant contact with their previous class-room learning. Their involvement in community life would create appreciations towards their own culture and tradition and also new ways of life brought in by modern ideas of science and technology.

Further 4 years Schooling

A child begins again at this level of schooling when he turns 12 years old. He continues at Standard 5 as a step further from Standard 4. All children who choose to return and commence another 4 years schooling must stay on until the end of their fourth year at this level. At the fourth year an open examination is conducted for all Form 2 students.

That means they will all leave school at Form 2 level at the age of 15 years old. It should be stressed to students that everyone has completed a course of 8 years general learning, but all must continue study at the Practical Grass Root Education Division level among their own people and to promote their own projects which their own relatives have started in the community.

Children are not to be forced to continue doing classroom learning during this period of four years. If they have decided to stay on in the Village Community from the de-schooling period (2 years) they are free to do so, except that they should be willing to participate in their community work programme and be willing to better their own general knowledge through correspondence school.

PRACTICAL GRASS ROOT EDUCATION DIVISION: This is a sub-division of the Grass Root Education Division which is also controlled by the V.C.E.B., but this sub-division is the most important one of the whole scheme.

Its curriculum should be exactly the same as what is now used at our present vocational centres in Niugini. But I suspect that its content differs slightly although its purpose is the same. Therefore, this division could be called a "Modified Vocational Centre". A great mass of the students who have successfully completed Form 2 general education enter all sorts of training available at the Practical Grass Root Education Division or Modified Vocational Centre.

V.C.E. Board selects at least one student from each Community Institution to continue on to High School then to University level. New Ireland District, for instance, could have 200 Practical Grass Root Training Centres in the whole district and at least 200 students who have completed Form 2 to continue Forms 3 - 6 each year is quite adequate representation of the district.

WHAT IS INVOLVED IN PRACTICAL GRASS ROOT EDUCATION DIVISION: This particular education division is designed to suit the pattern of life practised widely in Niugini by most adults in rural areas. Generally speaking, people seem to be doing nothing even though they may dream of having improved living standards. In some most remote areas, the majority of the community would know practically nothing of how a tradestore, for instance, could be properly managed. Therefore, the government should appoint permanent professional community consultants. These consultants should establish training centres in each Community and make themselves available to those who need to be trained in certain skills required.

These professionals should be made up of the following:

1. An agricultural officer.
2. A medical officer.
3. A political education officer.
4. A priest or pastor.
5. A Youth Organiser or Youth Leadership officer with interest in sports and recreation.
6. A mechanic with technical qualifications.
7. A business management officer.

These officers must be appointed by the Administration and other agencies to take up permanent post in the Community.

Their major role is to make suggestions to members of the Community through the V.C.E.B. of what could be done and be able to show people how to go about doing what has been suggested. The idea is to help each community member to be able to continue doing what is most important to him in a proper way and to be able to maintain it in the long run. For example, a youth organiser would be able in a short stay among the people to train some young people to organise sports and recreations among themselves. He then moves around constantly to supervise and give further advice to young leaders.

An agricultural officer's role is to move around among the people seeing their own traditional ways of gardening and ways of looking after their animals. He only suggests methods of improving what the people value most and helps them to be able to understand how to go about new methods and to maintain them in years to come. His next step is to supervise and follow up his suggestions.

The training that is given in the Community Centres should be optional. Time is set out clearly and it is made known to every member of the community, but only for those who are most interested in a particular training.

The training options are as follows with commencing age:

1. Agricultural Training (Age 15 + adults)
   Modern methods of gardening
   Animal husbandry
   Fish pond-making, etc.

2. Medical and Health Training (Age 15+adults)
   First Aids
   Traditional bush medicine (plants)
   Home Hygiene, etc.

3. Political Education Training (Age 15 + adults)
   Village politics
   National politics and international politics
   Politicians of Niugini and others
   The importance of politics.

4. Belief and Religious Training (Age 15 + adults)
   Traditional beliefs
   Christianity and other World Religions
   The values of religions.

5. Youth Leadership Training (Age 12 + adults)
   - Boy Scouts Movement
   - Boys and Girls Brigade
   - Red Cross movement
   - Traditional dance and singsings
   - Sporting competitions
   - Traditional and modern recreation.

6. Mechanical and Technical Training (Age 15 + adults)
   - Trucks and car maintenance and other machinery
   - Roads and bridges construction and maintenance
   - Modified homes - bush materials and maintenance
   - Simple modern homes - construction and maintenance
   - Canoe-making (traditional and modern) and maintenance
   - Plumbing and maintenance, etc.
   - Carvings (traditional and modern) and maintenance.

7. Business Management Training (Age 15 + adults)
   - Simple Book-keeping
   - Trade Store management
   - Poultry and piggery management
   - Finance management, etc.

Both sexes should be encouraged to have equal opportunity in taking part in these options.

CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL AND LITERACY EDUCATION: Correspondence tuition should be available for any individuals who have interest to continue general education. It should be one of the major options in the Community Institution, commencing at Standard 5 to Form 6 level. That means any child of age 12 could begin Standard 5 correspondence work at home instead of attending class.

It is vitally important, in a country like ours, for a child to be trained to be able to discipline himself in his own way of study according to his/her own phase and capacity to learn.

LITERACY EDUCATION: Any adults who have interest to learn how to read and write in his own language could attend this option. It is important for individual members of the community to be able to read simple articles in their own language. Basic letter-writing should be taught. Filling in certain documents should be practised. Simple measurements and numbers should be made known to them too. Literacy education should be run by Church agencies in Niugini. Pastors, Catechists and laymen should conduct this option as a contribution to the country's development.

CORRESPONDENCE SUPERVISORS: Correspondence Supervisors should be the professional officers who live in the community and are appointed by the government. It should be one of their major duties that they should be responsible to organise and see that it is being done by those who are interested. These Supervisors should be highly qualified people and employed by the government (Teaching Service Commission), except the priest or pastor.

Most of them should have graduated from Tertiary Education Division.

TEACHERS FOR STANDARD 1 - 4 AND STANDARD 5 - FORM 2: To maintain high quality education, community schools should be taught by well-trained teachers. Our present Teaching Service Commission should be responsible for maintaining qualified teachers for the scheme.

Tertiary Education Division should continue training teachers for both primary and secondary education in the country. It is important to maintain professionals at the rural community level so that their presence should contribute awareness and show willingness of the government to be fully represented even in the rural community. Inevitably, the public will eventually realise that they too must co-operate in some small way in building up the true sense of belonging to a nation.

I don't believe that Standard 6 'push-outs' should be trained to become teachers because as I said earlier that most of them would be too young and contradictory to Niuginian pattern of leadership. The present teaching force in the country should be utilised into the scheme, primary teachers should continue as they are and secondary teachers should be in various secondary divisions.

FURTHER EDUCATION : I don't see that the continuation to High Schools then to Higher Tertiary Education Division has any major problems. The reshuffle of High Schools in Districts will cause some problems. In places like the Gazelle Peninsula where there are more High Schools the number will have to be decreased. New Ireland District should only have one High School and increase the number of Village Community Institutions. All the present Vocational Centres should be all closed down and replaced by the type mentioned in the paper.

It should be stressed and made clear to students that there will be a time when unemployment in town will be increasing and that the government of the country should have a set plan of its development and manpower required within a limited number of years.

WHAT BENEFIT WOULD RURAL COMMUNITY ACHIEVE FROM SUCH A LOOSE PROGRAMME?: It is about time that we must be realistic and frank with ourselves that an imposed tight programme does cause strain and frustration on people who don't have such pattern of life in their society. Human beings are capable of organising themselves. This capacity to organise varies from one culture to another. So we have no right to assume that Western pattern of organisation is the best for Niugini as a whole. Presumably the urban area of Niugini would be able to follow some of it.

We have to accept now that rural community should have a different programme from the urban community. Government officers who work for rural development should have changed attitudes towards rural people.

I have seen, heard and know immature government representatives (Niuginians) who treat rural people as colonial kiaps of early years of this country. That is why it is most important to employ professionals in rural communities and not childish workers without respect for human beings and their cultural background and values.

I believe that people's educational aspiration should be met only if it is geared towards their own pattern of life-style. We need patience in order to do this. We need to keep up with their own phase and not ours until they themselves are able to carry on in life.

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Johnbili Tokome

IS OUR PRESENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM REALLY THAT BAD?

INTRODUCTION: This paper is chiefly concerned with arguments against the proposal described in ERU Report No.3 (Kemelfield, 1972). I will try to answer two specific questions which I think fundamental whenever we try to change the education system in Papua New Guinea or in any other country for that matter. Other questions which will give some insights to the problem of the proposal will also be discussed, based on the two specific questions. These questions would arise from the impressions one would have when reading through the proposal.

Now, the fundamental questions are:

1. Are the proposed changes described in the ERU Report No.3 desirable ones?
2. Are they practical?

I will try to answer these questions by referring to the proposal itself and to try to present my arguments against what I think is wrong with the proposal. First, let us have a look at the brief summary or outline of the proposal.

THE PROPOSAL: It is often stressed in the proposal that the present education system is inadequate because it creates problems of:

1. School drop-outs (or leavers) which leads to unemployment

2. Social division
3. Rural Communities not benefiting from the present education system
4. Divisions created by the education system between the old and the young generation
5. That the community had no say at all in the planning and development of their own educational institutions.

The group which devised the proposal believes that a community-based education system would effectively solve these problems by giving adults opportunities for education, provide opportunities for the school leavers, provisions for education for urban as well as rural areas be adaptable, and to give more emphasis on local communities developing their own areas.

How could this be done?

The group is convinced and strongly believes that the community-based education system proposed would solve these problems and that the system would effectively be utilised by the administrative structure for community education at the local level (p. 14) and the institutional structure shown on page 23 of the Report. Details of how these could be achieved are described under these headings.

However, the proposal seems to me not desirable and not practical for the following reasons.

ASSUMPTIONS: The group members believe that the present education system in Papua New Guinea is inadequate and should be changed. Pages 4 - 9 in particular present the various reasons why changes need to be made in the present education system. I question these reasons on the grounds that they are based entirely on false assumptions. Is the present education system really inadequate? What does the group mean when they say that the education system we have now creates social problems?

The needs of an individual are numerous and when we talk about the needs of the country as a whole we should bear in mind that there are several groups of people or societies which present different kinds of needs.

The present economy of our country would hardly solve the problems assumed in the proposal and it would not get along with the kinds of aspirations our country has. Expenditure in education at the present is further complicated by the fact that the needs and the economic potentials are incompatible, that is to say, that even though the Education Department wants something to be done, it will depend largely on what is given.

The proposal assumes that the problem of high expectations from parents about their children getting money-earning jobs as a result of attending school would be solved. I'm pretty sure that this high expectation will still continue if such a system as proposed, is established.

Furthermore, the group contradicts itself on this point when they state that:

> "School leavers and dropouts, and their parents, are therefore likely to feel a sense of failure and disappointment when they are unable to get into high school --- and are unemployed" (pp.4 - 5).

On the other hand we read:

> "Unless some limits are placed on the material rewards available to those who succeed in passing through the secondary and tertiary ---"(p.5).

If the new proposal is to solve the sense of failure and disappointment then it shouldn't limit the high hopes or expectations of parents and children.

The proposal also implies that a communistic ideology is present in this system in that everyone should have an equal share regardless of personal initiatives and hard work.

It further contradicts itself in that it tries to discourage entrepreneurships among individual members of the community by limiting the opportunities available for the intelligent and competent students working towards, for example, an expectation of becoming a qualified tradesman or a businessman.

SELECTION: The point concerning selection of students continuing to high schools certainly does not impress me at all. Disappointment will still be inevitable. The institutional structure presented in this proposal shows that selection will still continue. I have the impression that selection in this proposed system wouldn't be better off than what we have now, particularly when we are told that four years of learning English (Standard 5 to Form 2) is sufficient to get the students to Senior High Schools. What a failure! Furthermore, if the group thinks that the proposal could cater for the community then I cannot see why parents would be stopped letting their children continue on to higher schools and why selection is applied. What if all parents want their children to continue on to high schools? This is why I said that this proposed system will double the problem of selection which we have now.

LEVEL OR STANDARD OF EDUCATION: In conjunction with the problem of selection we are faced with the problem of the standard or level of education. The three stages presented in the proposal do not in any way indicate an increase in the level of education for the country as a whole. Instead it tries to lower it. For instance, four years in the Community Schools with the emphasis on traditional activities would hardly allow children to go on to four years in Middle Schools without an understanding of language which is widely used, namely English. If the group thinks that this is not a fair comment then I would go further by stating that if Motu or Pidgin are to be used as languages for communication then I'm afraid we won't get anywhere with the rest of the world. That is, English, to me, would still be an important language for communication in a wider sense.

The adoption of Motu or Pidgin as a language for teaching would create problems. For instance, what sorts of books would children read in community schools if we agree to teach in Pidgin and Motu? If the group thinks that books can be easily printed, then I would question that because we still find it difficult to provide enough Papua New Guinea literature either in Pidgin and Motu or English. It will cost a lot of money to provide enough Papua New Guinea literature in these two languages.

Another important question leading from what we have said so far is: how could we expect children to learn English within four years in the middle school? This question, of course, raises another argument and that is, that the problems the proposal is trying to solve, from the present system, will become worse if we adopt the proposed system. However, let us look at the question posed earlier about an assumption that children will be able to cope with the work in Forms 3 - 6. We have argued earlier that this proposed system will eventually lower the standard or level of education in the country. This will surely be the case because four years in the Middle School are not sufficient for a student to be able to speak English which is the most important tool to continue on to high school or tertiary institutions. The Report says:

> "Middle Schools would offer education for pupils from 13 - 16 years old. Classes would be equivalent to the present Standard 5 to Form 2 ---" (p.22).

If we try to compare the amount of time required to get the children to Standard 5 in the present system as against the proposed system, we would find that, more time is spent now to get students to the level we require for Standard 5. Does the group think or expect to reach this level spending less time in formal learning? I'm afraid that this is where the level of education required, will be greatly affected. The Form 2 level of education in the proposed system will not be equivalent to what we have now.

In the current system children go through a six year primary schooling in which a lot of English is used and yet we still have complaints from high schools and tertiary institutions that students have poor comprehension. Only four years learning English will certainly have negative results.

Referring to the question of rural areas not benefiting from the present education system, we could see that the group did not at all appreciate the fact that children in urban areas will have more opportunities to go to higher schools because they would have heard a lot of English spoken and therefore they would have a better command of English than the others.

How would you expect a child from Kandep Patrol Post in the Western Highlands District to learn English when he is about 13 and expect him to enter the Senior High School, learning English for four years only? The advantage ratio of urban over rural would probably be something like 9:2.

In passing, perhaps we should mention that linguists would argue that children, when trying to speak a language, learn the language unconsciously. Adults, on the other hand would depend largely on motivation.

The group does not realise that they also contradicted themselves in that while they try to give equal shares of education they also give more opportunities to the urban areas because of what we have said in the above paragraphs.

THE IDEA OF "SHIFT TEACHING": It is suggested in the proposal that shift teaching would be followed in the community-based education system. The group suggests that community activities for children in Community Schools would take place in the morning up to noon. The implication made here would be that after twelve o'clock children in the Community Schools would have to be sent home. This would mean 2½ hours a day in formal education or in classroom learning. The argument which arises from this is based on the interviews made on a recent trip to the Western and Southern Highlands Districts. People were asked whether children should go to school in the morning only and not in the afternoon. Most people interviewed said that their children should go to school both in the morning and afternoon. Their common reason was to get more SAVE which will help them later on in their lives. SAVE, here, I don't think would mean just what the school teaches, but it would also mean other SAVE which would lead their children to all kinds of other things.

Shift teaching, of course, would directly apply to the Middle Schools as proposed. It is claimed that:

> "The purpose of this division is to provide all children with equal chance to proceed to further education ---"(p.35).

Division here means shift teaching. Now, how on earth could you cover the normal academic school studies in half a day! How could one possibly cover what is required in the present syllabus? How could one proceed to further education not covering the necessary amount of work to qualify him for further education? Of course, learning occurs everywhere, anywhere and at anytime but surely we all believe that learning occurs most effectively in the classroom or learning in a formal way. If we do not believe this then there should be no schools at all. The point I'm trying to make here is that shift teaching could very well restrict or limit the amount of necessary normal academic school studies to be covered in accordance with the level needed for the country to achieve. For instance, at the moment we are trying to identify ourselves as Papua New Guineans and we would like to show the world that we are also capable of doing some of the things they do. But the claim that shift teaching would give equal chance for children to proceed to further education is again an assumption that I think the group uses to try to convince people like the Chief Minister or the Minister for Education and others without giving prior thinking and discussions.

TIME CONCEPT AND FREEDOM: Much has to be said under this heading. However, I will only mention what we may think unimportant points of arguments but in practice they would be some of the crucial points according to Papua New Guinea village men.

First, I think it is important pointing out here that the proposal seems to indicate that it would be compulsory to some extent for adults to have some sort of regular attendance. The idea of regular attendance, sustained effort for several hours in the community classroom centre is alien and would be difficult for village people who are accustomed to great seasonal effort followed by periods of relative idleness and who have been used to occasional interludes, often of considerable duration, when all normal life was suspended at the time of a marriage, funeral, or other kind of traditional ceremony. Cuscus or Kapul ceremony would be one of these where people spend several weeks hunting. Moka ceremony is also another example which takes several weeks or days to prepare and then a long period of ceremonial singsing.

How could you expect adult extension work to be of an active on-the-job kind? How could the proposal be implemented to places like the Kairuku and the Mekeo because these people spend most of their time in the market and travelling to and fro between their areas and Port Moresby. How could you apply this to the Hula people who spend most of their time fishing? Would the group exclude these people? Furthermore, if the system exerts forces on these people to organise some sort of community education, then the system does not in any way respect the freedom of the individual or the group.

ADULT EDUCATION: As in the education of children, educators of adults must try to discover how best to present knowledge in the context of the adults' own social, cultural and economic conditions. In this way the adult will be unable to relate the knowledge he has attained to the life that he lives in the community, and to make such education relevant, useful and significant. However, efforts to promote new schemes of adult education could be handicapped by lack of personnel with specialised skills in their field and also by lack of sufficient material for further work once adults are able to read and work on their own. There is nothing more discouraging for teachers than to make people literate and then to have nothing for them to read. One of the major aims of the proposal is to make people literate fullstop! What happens after that? Nothing! The proposal does not indicate anywhere what other opportunities would be available once people become literate.

In Papua New Guinea the problem arises from the multiplicity of local languages and dialects which would make the work of production and publication of books and other materials not only difficult but also expensive. Much thinking and co-operative action would be needed if a solution is to be found to this problem.

The adoption of Pidgin and Motu as a language for teaching and literature would eventually face difficulties because they need to help develop their culture and history using their own languages.

Rural adult education will also be at a great disadvantage because there are few people who can be used as substitutes for school teachers and in some areas, none at all. Urban centres on the other hand would be able to mobilise professionals such as clerks, shopkeepers, hospital orderlies, social workers and others for this purpose. Again, if we think about most of the outlying areas of the Highlands, we would say that it would be impossible to urge people to accept such a system because it won't work in these areas. Again, urban areas would greatly benefit from such a system.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST BETWEEN THE POWERFUL AND THE LESS POWERFUL:
Fundamental to the problems of co-operation is some kind of conflict of interest. In community development it would be the conflict between the government (or the agency) and community as to whose wants, views and interests take priority. Practically, of course, this conflict would usually be resolved in favour of whichever party proved to be the more

powerful, but the conflict would often continue, manifesting itself in non-cooperation by the less powerful party. In one way or another this conflict of interest would be at the root of much community resistence to programmes for change. The question we must ask when we talk about areas like Wambip and Kuare (in the Southern Highlands District) is not "How can the people of these types of areas learn what we want them to learn?" but rather "Will they learn them and how can they be induced to want to learn them?"

We would see further problems here. Where emphasis is on what the planners want, the wants of the community impose practical limits on what the planners can expect to achieve. Where emphasis is on what the community wants, the wants of the planners impose practical limits on what the community can reasonably expect to achieve. In other words, the most serious problem in development is mutual adjustment of needs and wants. Indications of these could be seen in the present administration structure where District Boards of Management and School Boards of Management have more to say if the Parents and Citizens of a particular school suggests what to be done for the improvement of the school. These Boards of Management have the final decision on anything suggested by the parents. Nearly all the administration businesses operate on this basis, that is, there will always be someone to finalise decisions.

It is worth noting that there is much emphasis in the proposal for community development work on ascertaining the feelings or needs of the local people and stimulating them to do something constructive to meet them. This emphasis would lead to considerable disappointment on the part of change agents in some areas, precisely because the results would not be compatible with what they would want for the community. They would be disappointed because they would fail to make their own wants explicit in their approach to development. Some agents would decide that there is not much point attending to the wants of the community or to give members of the community an opportunity to help formulate their own development. Our approach to human problems in community development, therefore, will be one that regards the planners' or the agents' wants and the community's wants as both worthy of respect.

Regardless of how the conflict of want is resolved it is essential for development agents to know what the client community's wants actually are and to take them fully into account because I believe that if the administrative bodies of the proposed system neglect to take account of client's wants then this will be a major cause of failure in the programme.

This brings me to the point that it seems as though nothing concrete has been done by the group by way of asking people what they want before the proposal was set up. I'm pretty sure that people are unsympathetic to the present education system. It is quite right that the proposal wants to change people's views but it's quite hard to tell what people want. For example, villagers do not look upon literacy as an abstract thing that is good for one. It is something that takes time and hard work and when it is achieved has no meaning for most people. The coastal people, of course, will probably reject the proposal and if anything is to be done there for community development or community education it would have to be more sophisticated.

For instance, we have to cater for the type of people like those Kairuku people selling betel-nuts at Koki market. They speak very good English. I cannot, therefore, see how such a system could become nationalised as the Papua New Guinea Education System.

SOME TRADITIONAL ASPECTS CONSIDERED: I would have hoped that people like anthropologists, economists, research officers and so on, in the group, would have considered aspects of traditions, customs and cultures of Papua New Guinea.

Economists, for instance, could have pointed out that RESIS or competing in a business sense is always associated with an individual effort where one tries to make a show by himself. That is, when a person is trying to set up a business he will always do it by himself, competing with other people who also have small businesses. The point is that RESIS will always hinder development, whether political, social or economic.

Anthropologists for their part could have discussed the role played by tradition in the whole social and political life of Papua New Guinea people. For instance, loss of power especially by the chiefs or a particular tribe. Some people may fear (without saying so) that the change is a ruse to weaken tribal integrity. Many groups or societies will fear loss of independence.

If the system proposed has the aim of trying to protect the traditions of the people of Papua New Guinea then I'm afraid the system will do more harm than what we have now.

My experience from the Highlands would illustrate clearly what I have said so far. Individuals who have tried to raise their status or set up their own businesses have always failed simply by the fact that one should not go beyond the rest.

Believe it or not, anyone at all who shows signs of being a successful businessman is likely to be POISIN, that is, he would be likely to be killed by black magic. Successful businessmen are always on the lookout and I know several successful businessmen who have given up their businesses just because of this psychological factor.

GENERAL COMMENTS: It would be unfair to put the blame solely on the education system by saying that the education system creates problems of social divisions, frustrations, lack of interest in planning and development of the rural community. I don't think we are fair in this regard. Yet, this is what seems to me to be the whole principle of the proposal.

The education system cannot creat jobs for school leavers. Why don't we blame the people themselves, the community, the council, the government, private agencies and so on, instead of blaming education for all these problems?

I have no concrete alternatives to make in place of the proposed system because I feel that the present system is efficient and effective and it attempts to solve some of the problems which worry the group and are mentioned in the proposal. However, I cannot see why the whole education system has to be changed because we could solve some of these problems under the present system using Strategic Community Centres like the ones at Kuare (Southern Highlands District). Quite a number of schools are doing exactly some of the activities mentioned in the proposal, e.g. running adult literacy classes, participation by the village people in school activities; agricultural projects such as poultry, piggery, raising cattle, cocoa and coffee planting are also a major part of the schools' activities.

All these are successfully done by the schools, especially rural schools following the present system. Therefore, I'm not convinced that this community-based education system is desirable or practical in Papua New Guinea.

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Graeme Kemelfield

COMMUNITY-BASED EDUCATION, A REPLY

The two preceding papers by Mesulam Aisoli and Johnbili Tokome offer a critical appraisal of the Educational Research Unit proposals for a community-based education system. The two responses are, in some respects, of a markedly different kind. Aisoli, while sympathetic to the directions in which the proposals are leading, expresses fears about some of the means suggested in order to expand and re-orientate the education system. He makes an impressive attempt to provide an alternative strategy, more likely to produce the desired changes. Tokome, on the other hand, is firmly opposed to the kind of social and educational philosophy on which the proposals are based. He also attacks a number of practical aspects of the proposed system, as likely to prove unworkable, or to have undesirable consequences. While some of his observations deserve careful consideration, others are based on a serious misreading or misunderstanding of what is actually being proposed, and a more accurate interpretation needs to be provided. Nevertheless, he exposes most of the possible weak points in the proposals.

PEOPLES EXPECTATIONS AND ASPIRATIONS: Referring to the persistence with which parents continue to demand primary schooling, in spite of their disappointment when children are unable to continue beyond Standard 6, Mesulam Aisoli concludes, "There must be something good in our present school system, musn't there?"

Certainly, it would be difficult to consider a system to be a failure when public pressure for its expansion is as great as it is at present. Nor is there much doubt about the relative success of the system, since the early 1960's, in providing a preparation for numbers of Papua New Guineans to fill expatriate posts in the public service and other skilled employment, making a critical contribution to the attainment of self-government and independence. Indeed, education has been a significant instrument in enabling Papua New Guineans to realise their demand to compete on equal terms with Europeans, and to determine their own future development. But it is time to ask now how well this system can serve an independent Papua New Guinea. Can it really fulfill the hopes and aspirations for the future placed on it by Papua New Guinea village communities, in an effective manner? Or will it increasingly confuse and disappoint communities, as Aisoli contends?

Recent research studies indicate that the overwhelming majority of primary school children aspire to urban cash-earning employment, and that this is an inevitable consequence of parental attitudes whereby education is seen as an investment from which they expect a return. When Tokome argues that we "Shouldn't limit the high hopes or expectations of parents and children", it may be important for us to ask, what happens when they are not fulfilled? When cash-earning jobs are simply not available? This situation is one which is only just beginning to arise in any proportion in this country, but which it may be dangerous for us to ignore. For while more and more school leavers each year are being turned out onto the labour market, over the next ten years the present rapid localisation of jobs will gradually be completed. Form 2 leavers are joining primary school leavers as a group whose employment and income aspirations are unable to be met, and there will shortly be an oversupply of Form 4 leavers for jobs not requiring further institutional training. Is there not a strong possibility, then, that these high hopes will turn to disillusion and frustration?

There is, however, more to the argument than this; there is the likelihood that Papua New Guinea will remain a predominantly agricultural economy for many years to come. If the expectations of parents and children to obtain cash-earning employment is to be realised, then for the most part it will have to be sought in small-scale agricultural artisan and related business development in the rural areas. And this will be an important factor in the development of the national economy.

While, as Aisoli comments, "we cannot isolate Niugini from ... high aspirations to escape to the moon", it is worth considering the realism of Nyerere, talking to farmers in a rural area of Tanzania on crop yields.

> "In the United States they get twenty-four hundred pounds of tobacco to the acre. And here you get six hundred. But over in Urambo, not many miles from here, they are already getting fifteen hundred pounds to the acre. This is something we can do! It's not like going to the moon. We can't go to the moon! But this we can do ..."

Asked towards the end of the first year of independence what was the most significant thing his country had accomplished, he replied "We have learned this hard fact of life, that there are no short cuts to our aspirations" (Smith 1973).

Of course, Tokome is right in suggesting that the high expectations of parents for well-paid jobs for their children will not simply dissipate, even if a system of education more oriented towards rural community development were to be introduced. There is little doubt that it will take a lengthy period of time for a more realistic idea of the scope of opportunities for obtaining a cash income permeates widely among village communities. What the ERU proposals are concerned to suggest, however, is a possible means of enabling communities as a whole to have a better chance of gaining a return for their investment; that is, to develop a form of education which by lending support to government policies for rural development, may help to provide an income and other benefits for villagers. and for school leavers unable to gain entry to urban employment. No doubt many will naturally still aspire to the greater monetary gain and prestige of higher-level urban employment. But at least an acceptable and realistic alternative might be increasingly available for the majority.

Far from attempting to discourage personal initiative, the form of education proposed is intended to provide the kinds of skills and other assistance needed to help villagers make a success of communal 'bisnis' ventures. Observers have noted many cases of Niuginian businesses which started in a promising manner, but failed through a lack of basic information about such matters as management, keeping records, marketing, gaining bank loans, depreciation, knowledge of what is involved in purchasing, insuring and maintaining vehicles, and so on. Contrary to what Tokome writes, it specifically suggests broadening opportunities for these with initiative to become tradesmen and businessmen, by arguing that instead of concentrating almost exclusively on expanding academic high schools and tertiary institutions, greater attention should be given to such things as trade apprenticeships, technical and vocational education and agricultural training schemes. As Tokome himself says, "when we talk about the needs of the country as a whole we should bear in mind that there are several groups of people or societies which present different kinds of needs." This is an argument for much greater diversity in educational provision, which in turn will require the utilisation of new and informal as well as traditional formal means of education, adapted to local needs, and embracing adults as well as children. This is what the ERU proposals are primarily aimed at.

Above all, they are concerned to anticipate the possible future social and political consequences of urban drift and mass unemployment of school leavers, and of a widening gap in the standard of living between a small but comparatively wealthy educated elite, and the majority of rural or poor urban dwellers. That is why emphasis has been placed both on increasing opportunities for rural villagers to enter the cash economy and to raise their standard of living, and on an incomes policy enabling the rewards and benefits of labour to be spread more fairly and evenly. This does not mean equal shares "regardless of initiatives or hard work." Rather, it means that encouragement can be given to more disadvantaged rural villagers and school leavers so that their initiatives and hard work have more chance of reward. This "communistic idealogy" is, in fact, identical with that of the Papua New Guinea government's "eight points". It may offer the best chance that the majority of people in the country have for realising their expectations and aspirations.

THE MEANS PROPOSED FOR IMPLEMENTING A COMMUNITY-BASED EDUCATION SYSTEM: Aisoli expresses at length his concern at the likelihood of serious conflict arising between parents' expectations and aspirations, and the specific means proposed for introducing community-based education. Each of the points he raises deserves some further comment, especially where these overlap with similar worries expressed by Tokome. Most concern is apparent over the proposed use of school leavers to act as instructors and youth leaders for younger children.

School leavers as instructurs: Discussion of this suggestion must start from an understanding of what it was intended to achieve. It was, in short, a proposal to kill two birds with one stone, i.e. to provide additional resources for expanding educational provision, so as to include the fifty percent of children presently excluded from the system, and in doing so, to engage a large number of otherwise aimless school leavers in useful community service. It is this second aim which opens the proposal to most criticism, as it suggests letting loose hordes of immature, untrained "push-outs" in communities across the country to take the place of responsible, well-trained teachers. To discuss this approach as unacceptable should not necessarily lead to a complete rejection of the idea of using community members who have had some school education as future teachers in the community.

It is interesting to observe that in the small-scale pilot projects for community-based education now underway, communities are tending to put forward men who have left school for a few years, and who are considered sufficiently mature community members to receive training so that they can act as literacy and numeracy instructors for adults as well as children. Such a scheme has already functioned successfully in Peru, in jungle schools which have failed to attract college-trained teachers. Moreover, the use of semi-trained instructors with a backing of radio or television and printed materials has been tried out with success in several countries, and the results have generally compared favourably with conventional teaching by trained teachers.

It should be noted that in the original ERU proposal it was suggested that the task should eventually be undertaken by 16 + (or older) middle school leavers who had attained Form 2 level, and would be themselves products of a system considerably more oriented to community values. A careful selection of more capable and mature leavers, prepared for their task in their final year at school, should not necessarily amount to an influx of "childish workers without respect for human beings and their cultural background and values". However, the original emphasis placed on school leavers providing a four year training, equivalent to Standard 1 - 4, should almost certainly be replaced with the idea of a much shorter and more loosely organised pre-formal school education, providing for basic vernacular or pidgin literacy, arithmetic, games and traditional songs and stories. There seems no reason why this should not be a worthwhile experiment - one already being tried out by some communities in the Kainantu area, on their own initiative.

Attitudes towards manual work: The problem of students (or former students) reacting against heavy manual labour or farming activity, especially as punishment, has a history of negative effects both in this country and elsewhere. Aisoli is surely right when he expresses fear of this becoming a major part of any community-based education. Such an approach has not, however, been advocated. Rather the emphasis in the proposals is on encouraging students to learn useful skills, to take part in the normal productive activities of the adult community, and to relate school learning to out of school community life. The involvement of parents as well as children in learning linked to community development may be the best way to provide an understanding of the aims of such education.

The Education Programme proposed for adults: A number of important issues relating to adult education are raised in Tokome's paper. He rightly notes a lack of personnel with specialised skills available for such work in rural areas. As at least one other educationist (Bennet 1972) has observed, the small proportion of extension officers trained in agriculture, business development, health and other fields in relation to the large numbers of generalist primary school teachers makes one wonder if a radical reversal is not required, so as to produce more specialised teachers who could benefit rural communities as a whole. One vital instrument for rural adult education, overlooked by Tokome, however, is local radio. The potential of rural radio forums - village meetings where people gather to listen to and discuss a programme, and then relay their response for more information or assistance back to the broadcasting station - has been proved in a number of countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and North America. This, combined with extension officers from different government departments combining to work systematically as a team, provides the heart of the approach to adult education suggested in the ERU proposals.

Tokome also comments on the possible lack of printed materials. This need is raised in the original ERU proposal, where the necessity for "large quantities of cheap reading materials" is noted. One purpose of community education centres is seen as that of providing small libraries, which could store peoples' own hand-bound writings on matters of interest and concern to the life of the community, as well as other available vernacular and pidgin publications. Nevertheless, there is not the degree of emphasis on literacy in the original ERU proposal that Tokome claims. To "make people literate fullstop!" is not one of the major aims of the proposal. The report states in this regard that, "some aspects of community education provision are ... likely to be of greater interest and relevance to one particular community than another. This may apply particularly to literacy learning, which is difficult, and which requires strong motivation and opportunities for practical application if it is to be sustained". (p.31).

There is, finally, no suggestion in the proposal that it would be compulsory for adults to attend a regular programme of education which might clash with the work and ceremonial activities of village life. The original proposal states that, "energy and time to devote to these activities might .. be seasonal, according to the demands of work," (p.30), and notes that 'education programmes for adults should not be imposed on them, but should be provided in response to requests from local communities'. (p.26). This in no way negates the freedom of the individual or group. Tokome asks, "How could you expect adult extension work to be of an active on-the-job kind?" But how else would he expect it to be conducted, for fishermen or farmers? Mainly in a classroom?

Involvement of L.G.C.'s in community education: Local Government Councils are already involved in aspects of educational provision. However, the weakness of councils and other newly-introduced institutions, pointed out by Aisoli, must be acknowledged. Working through L.G.C.'s as presently constituted is not an essential feature of the proposals.

The important principle proposed is that community-based education should be developed through whatever effective organisation for local government is operating. The kind of modification of local government councils represented by the experiment in community councils in Kainantu is one promising development, which could accord better with traditional social organisation. One community education pilot project has been sited there, and will provide a test case for the viability of this form of council as a means of promoting community-based education. Rather than "leaving (the natives) in the darkness of modern institutions", as Aisoli fears, a primary aim of community education should be to stimulate more effective local leadership and organisation.

Implementing community-based education: There is not much room for doubt that to try to change the kind of system we now have "overnight" would cause serious confusion. It would be untenable for many reasons: lack of suitable personnel, unprepared teachers, lack of materials, the slow pace of government action to promote rural development, and the need for a great deal of prior explanation, discussion and readjustment among villagers. The revised proposal for a community-based education system described in the chapter at the beginning of Section 3 takes account of this reality.

The suggested approach to implementation through pilot projects is severely criticised by Aisoli. Two trial years is an absurdity, if an assessment of the ultimate benefits (or otherwise) of such a system is to be attempted. A minimum of perhaps ten years would be needed to learn anything of lasting significance. If the potential social problems of school leavers and unemployment are as pressing as earlier suggested, and if education is to be re-oriented to contribute to rural development, then such a time span for trialling a new approach is not available. Nevertheless, there is some real purpose in pilot projects. They can, for a start, provide a model which can be examined and modified in practice; community response can be studied, and other communities can observe and respond to what is going on; the effectiveness of suggested administrative and institutional structures can be critically investigated. It is perhaps only by setting up well-planned experiments with clearly-defined long-term aims and direction that the "constant reshuffle of ideas and new methods" can be resolved.

EFFECTS OF INTRODUCING A COMMUNITY-BASED EDUCATION SYSTEM: Much of the papers of Aisoli and Tokome are given over to critical analysis of the possible negative effects of introducing a community-based system of education. Some of these refer more to problems of adult education and community development, others more to the education of children. With regard to the latter, most attention is paid to the question of standards of education.

Standards of education: Tokome writes with particular concern about the danger of a lowering of formal educational standards if the ERU proposals were followed. Most of this concern hinges on the need for fluency in English, and the length of time needed to attain it. The arguments concerning this are complex, and cannot be conclusive, but some of the essential issues need to be debated.

The first question is, who needs English? Tokome argues that "if Motu or Pidgin are to be used as languages for communication then I'm afraid we won't get anywhere with the rest of the world." But this ignores the more critical problem of internal communication, for which Pidgin or Motu may provide more easily and widely understood media, as well as languages for national identification. Communication with the rest of the world for commerce and government is the domain of a minority of citizens. Countless nations carry on successful international dealings in English, though the majority of their people use as linguae francae languages largely confined to their own country. Other cultural and psychological arguments can be put forward in support of early education in the vernacular, allowing a bridge between the child's family and culture and the activities of the school, as well as cultivating pride in his own cultural inheritance.

Given, nevertheless, an argument for teaching English in school, the question raised is whether four years is sufficient time to reach the standards required for high school instruction. The best research evidence to date on this issue comes from Uganda, where careful studies have been undertaken (Ladefoged et al., 1972). The research team examined pupils' English after six years of primary school. They found the standards achieved by those who had had two years of all-vernacular education followed by four years of English performed equally well on an English reading test compared with those who had had six years of English. This result is not surprising, considering that the first step for pupils is learning the mechanics of reading and writing, and that this may be easier and more effectively done in a familiar language. It should be added that the Ugandan research indicates that only the minority selected for secondary education tend to be proficient in English after this time. This is probably comparable to the situation now in Papua New Guinea.

A further important piece of evidence from the Ugandan research indicates that the single key variable in English learning is the quality of the teachers' training. An implication in this for the ERU proposals which supports Tokome's concern, is that without greater specialisation in English and English language teaching, it will be difficult to expect present primary teachers to teach up to a Form 2 level of English. In addition, a special intensive course in English in the first year of high school would certainly be desirable to raise students' proficiency in the language.

The suggestion that there should be semi-trained instructors used, and that there should be shift teaching in the middle school - two factors which Tokome sees as lowering standards - both arise out of an effort to find a means of expanding the education system. This was an attempt to take account of the strength of public demand for universal schooling, and to provide equality of educational opportunity for all children. This emphasis, in retrospect, may well be misguided. What is essential to the ERU proposals is the insistence on involving adults in the educational process, as a fundamental means to promote rural community development, and to build a more attractive future for the majority of school leavers in the village.

Expanding child education, given the present and likely future resources of Papua New Guinea, seems likely only to breed great difficulties of maintaining the quality of teaching, of maintaining traditional values (as Tokome narrates in his play NOKEN LUSIM), of future disappointment because of high school selection, and of diverting funds from other aspects of rural development. A programme of practical, informal education available in early adulthood in any case would provide compensating opportunities. This viewpoint is built into the revised ERU proposal.

It is necessary to take issue with Tokome on some other of his contentions. Surely we do not "all believe that learning occurs most effectively in the classroom or learning in a formal way". On the contrary, a substantial body of educational research and opinion supports the view that a combination of formal learning and practical application in a meaningful everyday setting is superior to a purely classroom approach.

The middle school idea of relating classroom learning to the development of out-of-school community skills is intended to provide this balance. Once again, the Ugandan research points strongly to the fact that it is not so much adding to the number of years of school which leads, for example, to superior achievement in English. Rather, it is the quality of the teaching, and acquiring skill by actually beginning to use the language for some real purpose. Finally, the Ugandan evidence supports Tokome's view that urban children will be advantaged on account of the English heard around them. That will undoubtedly happen with any system where English is a medium of instruction. Only a quota system of entry to high school will be able to counter this rural disadvantage.

Trapping people in their environment: One of the implications of introducing the proposed community-based education seen by Aisoli is that it would be "a good way to trap a person in his environment so that he remains static in his culture". There seems little basis for this criticism. A major part of the educational programme suggested is that of "widening horizons", including life in other parts of Papua New Guinea and other countries, and what other communities are doing to help themselves. Much of the thrust of the proposal is towards providing opportunities for a gradual modernisation of village life, and better communications to convey information about national developments. Such an education programme, moreover, will not prevent villagers and school leavers from travelling as now taking temporary (or more permanent) employment in other parts of the country. It would provide more chances for reading and hearing about life elsewhere, as well as other opportunities for practical vocations learning.

Tradition and development: Both Aisoli and Tokome are critical of the failure of the original ERU proposal to deal with problems stemming from the traditions, customs and cultures of Papua New Guinea. Such aspects were not ignored by the working groups who prepared the document, but a detailed discussion of these problems was considered outside its scope. Issues such as those of land tenure and resis are clearly of great importance, but they raise general problems of rural development rather than specifically educational ones. The report stressed that "the education system cannot of itself be expected to provide an answer to the social and economic problems of rural communities".

A survey carried out by the Educational Research Unit in a number of rural communities indicates that 'bisnis' and agricultural development, and through them access of a cash income are overwhelming priorities of village people for their future. Traditional social custom must frequently conflict with this desire. One of the vital things which community education might aim to achieve would be to help villagers consider and resolve some of these conflicts. It has been observed that gradual compromises have already taken place in some village societies between personal demands (for example, for individual land tenure) and traditional custom: "The social change occurs slowly as the cumulative effect of compromises by individuals", (Rowley, 1972). Tokome paints a picture of Highlands' business ventures proving an inevitable failure. A recent study of the Gorokan entrepreneurs (Finney, 1973) suggests a very different situation. The pressures on individual businessmen, and the danger of poisin are undoubted. But again, Finney shows how a process of adaptation and compromise with traditional obligation can frequently lead to successful innovation and development in rural communities.

There are clearly risks in rural development programmes, which may undermine traditional social life, or upset the ecological balance derived from a successful relationship between man and the environment which has been maintained over centuries. These are concerns which will have to be resolved by communities themselves through their own leadership, with patient and sensitive assistance from the government. There is in this, as Tokome will point out, the danger of a conflict of interest between government and community priorities in development. The area is delicate and there is a need to proceed with caution.

CONCLUSION: It is unfair (and inaccurate), as Tokome claims, to argue that the education system is solely responsible for creating social divisions in the country, frustrated aspirations or a lack of rural development. But it would be equally short-sighted to ignore the importance of the education system in contributing to such problems. It is, for example, true that the education system cannot create wage employment for school leavers. But it is the system which creates the school leavers. We need to ask, what is it preparing them for? How does this expensive process assist them or their communities? Would another approach prove a better investment, for children, their parents and the government? There are powerful arguments to support the need for some imaginative thought and bold experimentation.

The ERU proposals were intended to offer a first step in this direction, and to act as a starting point for discussion, both among educational planners and village people. Tokome argues that the present system is efficient and effective, and could tackle the kinds of problems which have been posed, by using "strategic community centres". The introduction of such centres is what the ERU proposals are largely about, but this would be a major innovation. What priority would he give to such centres, and to what extent would he be prepared to see funds diverted to them? Again, he observes that a number of the activities mentioned such as adult literacy and the initiating of agricultural projects are already undertaken by some schools. While this is encouraging, it is questionable that it is happening on any scale, or that it is having much impact on rural community development.

In the final analysis, however, it is not an abstract commitment to "changing the system" which is desirable. Rather, it is commitment to a set of social and economic goals likely to most benefit the majority of the population in rural areas, and then a determination of how best education can make its contribution to these goals, drawing on all the resources which are available. This may lead us simply to a renewing of the present system, or it may lead us to new departures and new institutions. The solutions are likely to be neither easily found nor without their own further sets of difficulties. [illegible] vital, however that they should be sought, and without delay.

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Utula Samana

WHAT GOES ON AT ALKENA 'YANGPELA DIDIMAN SENTA'

(A Lutheran Sponsored Pilot Grassroot Agricultural
Development Project)

This report is a product of a survey on a grassroot agricultural project in the Tambul Patrol Post Area in the Western Highlands District. The survey was conducted between Saturday 14 and Friday 27 of April, 1973.

The writer has an interest in grassroot development and believes that this kind of development is essential for a country such as Papua New Guinea. The study of a pilot project of this nature is vital in defining the developmental strategies of a nation at the stage of transition to independence.

The writer lived, worked and participated in some of the activities of the project. In doing so he was able to document what was happening. Interviews, informal and formal discussions were conducted with the staff, the Trainees, the villagers and the people around the Centre.

INTRODUCTION

Michael Somare, the Chief Minister, has recently come to state the principles of economic development in Papua New Guinea under the ideals of equality, self-reliance and the spirit of co-operation. Following these principles, he has gone on to emphasise rural/grassroot development in terms of small-scale village industries, better internal trade, etc. The aim, therefore, is of economic self-reliance and necessary government control to achieve the ideals expressed, rather than dependence on importation and competitive monopolisation by only a few.

The following paragraphs introduce us to the Alkena Pilot Rural Agricultural Development with analogical developmental orientation to that of the Government Economic Objectives. The aim of this paper is to introduce us to see how this grassroot development is taking form in its own locality, its organisation, activities, its difficulties, and whether such a project is worth attending to by the government and the community as a whole, for the interest of the country.

LOCATION OF AREA AND PEOPLE: Alkena is a Lutheran Mission station located in the middle eastern portion of the Kaugl valley at an elevation of about 7,200 feet. The station is included in the Tambul Patrol Post jurisdiction, in the Western Highlands. The valley holds a total population of approximately 13,000 people who were severely affected by the 1972 frosts of May to August. The Patrol Post area is embraced by the Giluwe Local Government Council, named after Mt. Giluwe. The valley is inhabited by almost 28 known clan units speaking a single Kaugl language with some slight dialectical differences. According to the SIL linguist in the area, the inhabitants do recognise themselves as the people of the Kaugl in Tambul, as opposed to the Ialibus in the west, the Hageners in the east, and the Wabagas in the north. Nevertheless, within themselves clan fights and tensions can be witnessed.

Government penetration of the area occured in the early 1950's. The different Missions, namely, the Lutheran, Catholic and the Bible Mission followed at the same time as the government. Lutheran contact at Alkena was around 1951-52, by eight indigenous evangelists (4 from the coast and the other 4 from the Highlands). Four years later (1956), a white missionary established himself at Alkena (Hans Dieter Klemm).

HISTORY OF ALKENA YANGPELA DIDIMAN SENTA: The idea of improving agriculture in the Alkena area began in 1962 when the area was affected by the frost of 1961/62. The affect of this frost was not as intense as the one in the early months of 1972. Nevertheless, the 1961 frost prompted the Lutheran Mission to look into the possibilities of helping the people agriculturally. By 1964, Mr. Oelschlagel, a German Lutheran agriculturalist, was sent to Alkena to introduce new ways of agriculture. He was unsuccessful, due to the fact that the people were at that time reactionary to new ideas. The local peoples' interest in new ideas lasted only as far as their gardens recovered from the frost damage. By 1970 a total of 91 acres of land was leased by the Engawal clansmen for a period of 30 years to the Lutheran Church, through the auspices of the Lutheran Economic Service (initialed LES). It is on this 91 acres that the new Village Agricultural Training Centre is built. It is called the 'Yangpela Didiman Senta' (YOUNG FARMERS CENTRE). Alkena Yangpela Didiman Senta began in August 1972, after the severe frosts. The project itself is part of the Church's Highland Frost Relief Programme. It shall be discussed further in the finance section of this paper.

Reinhard Tietze was responsible for its initial stage. At present it is managed by a New Guinean, Mr. Maing Kuning, a product of the Banz Lutheran Agricultural School. Hence, the Centre has been operating for at least 8 months. This is quite a new project and somewhat a pilot operation. Already, at Arapangi, about 8 miles northeast of Mendi, a similar project has been set up. This is also run by a Niuginian extension worker, again, a graduate of the Banz Agricultural School. Mr.Tietze has indicated that another training centre will be established at Ialibu this year in the Southern Highlands.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT: What are the objectives of the Yangpela Didiman Senta? Reinhard Tietze, in his first half-year report, provides several aims for the project. The basic aim is to teach the villagers better means of agriculture and orientation to the cultivation of new crops, animal husbandry and poultry, so as to achieve the goals of dietal improvement or an increase in the people's consumption patterns (in terms of variety). The people in the area depend much on kaukau and a few greens for their nourishment. Pigs are not consumed frequently, since they function highly as status symbols and an item of value in the traditional 'moka' ceremony which is performed after months of preparation. In addition to this, pig cultivation is so poor from lack of simple scientific knowledge on breeding. Furthermore, there is a lack of protein content foods being consumed for a better, stronger and healthier life. The Didiman Senta endeavours to help in these problem areas - to help the villagers with food production, quality and variety. The most important aim is to introduce all kinds of frost-resistant crops and to familiarise its uses among the villagers to secure them from the impact of future frost damage and famine. Thirdly, the project aims to produce a super-structure of some kind of small-scale economic activity so as to help the villagers to have access to participating in the monetary economy. Fourthly, it is seen that the Centre is to produce men and women equipped with new agricultural knowledge and some literacy who will then become the 'agents of a developing economy' (Tietze, 1972). By this it means that the aim is not necessarily to produce individual business men but people who would play the role of propagating what has been learnt to others of their fellow-men, thus fostering the spirit of co-operation and service, rather than becoming too capitalistic. All in all, the project is not aimed heavily to make money or to create high expectations that could never be materialised in the level of rural areas for quite some time.

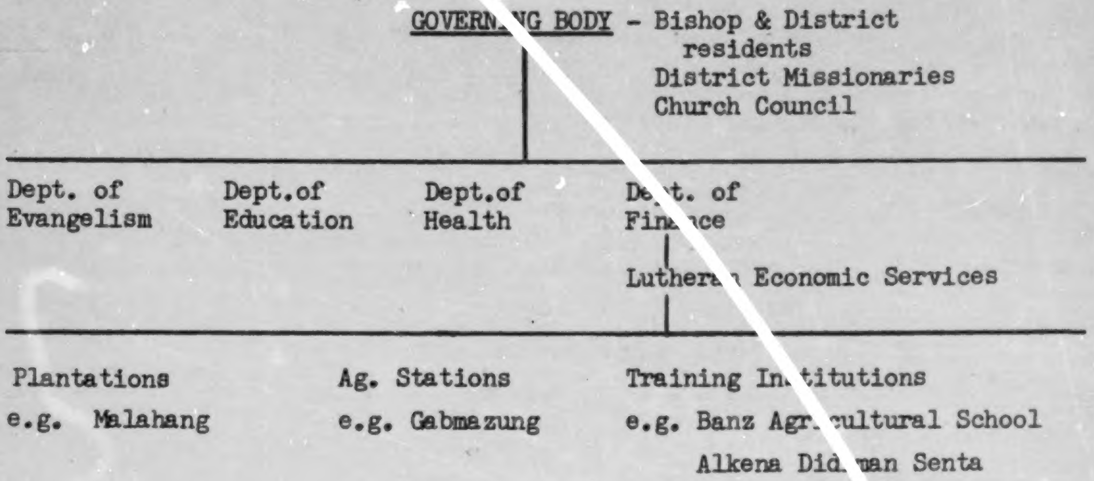
SOME LIKELY AND POSITIVE SIDE-EFFECTS OF THESE AIMS: The side-effects of this endeavourance is village involvement and employment, which could lead further to minimise excessive urban migration and to easing the unemployment problem. It could also lead to minimising the traditional pre-occupations with tribal warfare to a substitute of socio-economic activity in the monetary sense. Most importantly, it could lead to producing citizens of a new nation who are less dependent on importation of food items; developing and producing what they can on their own soil, (economic of self-reliance). The above aims and the possible side-effects correlate with the government's general objectives of economic development.

The present government, so far, has not sponsored any pilot projects of this nature to test the viability or the suitability of its economic objectives in different areas of the country. The Alkena Didiman Senta appears to be a worthwhile pilot project to be attended to. It needs, however, a careful examination of its operation in three areas. First, the members' impact on the village environment: this will show either the success or the failure of members in the village situation where one is exposed to all sorts of influences. The analysis of the impact of a member on the village and the village upon the member will determine the value of the project and the viability of its objectives. However, if one believes that a particular objective is more realistic, then whatever other aspirations there need to be challenged for a better leadership of our country.

CO-ORDINATION: How is Alkena fitted in the work of the Church? In other words, how is it co-ordinated with other areas of the Church's concern? Alkena Yangpela Didiman Senta comes directly under the Lutheran Economic Services, a sub-department under the department of Finance of the Lutheran Church. L.E.S. co-ordinates the financial proceeds of the Church, plantations, stores and other training institutions such as the Banz Agricultural School in the fields of Agriculture and Economics.

Theoretically, Alkena Yangpela Didiman Senta is directly responsible to L.E.S. Lutheran Economic Services department is the controlling body. In theory, therefore, Alkena has the right to have direct contacts with L.E.S. for financial and other assistance. However, in practice, at the moment Alkena is supervised from Banz by Mr. Tietze on behalf of L.E.S. This is due to the fact that the L.E.S. office in Lae is physically too far from Alkena. Thus, practically speaking, Mr. Maing is not solely independent in the whole operation at Alkena. He therefore corresponds to L.E.S. and vice-versa through Mr. Tietze in Banz.

ALKENA IN THE CHURCH STRUCTURE:



FINANCE: Who is financing this project? The Lutheran Church, just before the 1972 frosts, drew up a proposal through the L.E.S. to undertake a long-term programme destined to develop the rural economy. The proposal was sent to the Bread For the World Organisation in Germany as a request, which resulted in an offering of $32,000. Out of this sum, $17,000 has been utilised for establishing Alkena. Having heard of the frost ravages in New Guinea, the Bavarian Church in Germany responded with an offering of $70,000. The latter amount is to be used to expand Alkena's services and establish another project at Ialibu. Most of this money is pooled under the 'FAMINE AREA ASSISTANCE FUND' of the Lutheran Church. The assistance programme is budgeted only for three years. Further development, as it appears, will depend on the availability of finance. The project as it is seen, is wholely financed from without. This gives us a hint on the future financial difficulties for furthering grassroot development, which the people need so much.

PROJECT ADMINISTRATION:

Staff - The Centre is administered by a manager and three other staff. The manager takes the specific function of co-ordinating what goes on at the Centre. He is also a teacher in simple agriculture theory to the trainees. He is responsible only to the supervisor at Banz. The three others under the manager's supervision are:

1. The Project Inspector
2. The Trade Store Operator
3. The Adult Education Teacher.

Some occasional labourers are employed from the villages around from time to time.

The Project Inspector, as it implies, inspects the project of every member of the block each day. He sees that the trainees are doing their work well and helps them with their immediate problems. The distribution of animal feed, its records and costs, the use of petrol, motor bikes, tractor and general tools also come under the domain of the Project Inspector. In addition to this he is responsible for the supervision and the recording of livestock distribution to the trainees. He is assisted by an employed villager. The Trade Store Operator is responsible for running the store and keeping records of proceeds and expenses. The trainees' records of loan and repayments also come under his care. The Adult Education Teacher is responsible for taking literacy classes. He helps the trainees in learning the alphabet, the arts of reading and writing and simple numeracy, using Pidgin as the language of instruction. Most of the trainees are illiterate and do have some difficulties in understanding and using Pidgin. The first three members of the staff are products of the Banz Agricultural School. The latter has been a Lutheran permit Teacher for the last 15 years in the area. Their wages are met by L.E.S. budget on the project. The following table gives us an indication of the wages of the operators of the project:

TABLE 1

STAFF	FORTNIGHTLY WAGE	ANNUAL INCOME
1. Manager	$32.00	Approx. $1,352.00
2. Project Inspector	20.00	" 520.00
3. Trade Store Operator	10.00	" 260.00
4. Pig Caretaker	5.00	" 104.00
5. Workshop Caretaker	5.00	" 104.00

The above table does not include the wages of the Driver ($20.00) or the Extension Worker at Arapangi ($410.00) which are paid by the manager of Alkena.

Trainees - Who are the trainees? Perhaps the most important people in the Centre are the Trainees. They are called 'Block Members' or just 'Members'. In a way, equivalent to 'comrades' or 'wantoks'.

There are two types of members, namely, 'inside' and 'outside' members. The inside members are those who receive their training at the Centre. The outside members are those who are trained on their own village land: outside members are mostly from nearby villages. Most of these members, as indicated, are illiterate. Pidgin is understood very little. The trainees come from all around the Tambul area, seeking and interested in 'new knowledge'. They are not from a particular clan nor are they from a particular denomination. Most of them are not Christian. From a total of about 46 members (both inside and outside), 8 are from the Mundika clan, 13 Engawal, 4 Glauka, 6 Yorupa, 2 Kebaga, 3 Sebaga, 2 Tambul, 1 Glopena, 3 Gia and 1 Komoklam. These people are from the different clans, live, work, worship and play together, pre-occupied with perhaps a different sense of duty to themselves and their society. Most of them are married, and both husband and wife work together in developing their blocks. They are expected to remain in the Centre for 1½ years, after which they will retire to their tribal grounds to set themselves a similar farm. .

Staff-Member Interactions - The interactions between staff and members are seen in the day to day activities. Formely, members are organised into clubs, headed by a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer. Female members are also organised in this way. The club leaders organise meetings, sports and social activities in the area. Games and film nights are great attractions, as there is a lack of social activities. The writer participated in such a night at one time which ended at midnight.

EDUCATION AT THE CENTRE - THEORY AND PRACTICE: The Centre does not have a school building as such but a comunity hall in which most of the classes are held. The hall is also used for meetings and other social functions. Part of the community centre is used as an office by the Manager. Approximately 1½ acres of land is provided for each member. He is required, as part of his training, to build himself a house, a garden, a piggery, poultry or a fish-pond. Most of the material is provided by the Centre on loan, with the exception of nails, wire-fences and second grade timbers which are left behind for the next generation of trainees. In addition to the above, livestock, seeds and animal feed are also provided on loan. Livestock includes pigs, meat and egg-laying chickens, ducks and fish. Seeds include cabbages, carrots, corn, cucumbers. Frost resistant grains such as oats and buckwheat are also experimented. With the above, members grow a lot of kaukau for self-consumption. Potatoes are also grown for consumption as well as for sale. These facilities allow members to practically apply what they learn at the Centre.

Training - The community of Young Farmers learn a multiplicity of things some of which they have never confronted before.

Adult Literacy - In the literacy class, for instance, the members learn the alphabet and the art of reading and writing. Numeracy is taught in addition to this. Literacy is important because it allows the members to keep records of expenses and proceeds of their own blocks.

Home Science - Due to lack of personnel, the home science classes are not operating at the moment. It has been suggested that a European Missionary woman was to come to Alkena from Tiria near Hagen to teach the subject. The subject includes simple hygiene, child care, sewing and cooking.

Agriculture - In the sphere of agriculture, the training is divided into two forms. One is basically theoretical and the other practical. Emphasis is given to the practical side - the art of learning by doing. From the theoretical angle, both men and women learn certain essential elementary agricultural knowledge suited to their particular environment. Firstly, they are given basic instruction in *soil usage*. The subject elements contain:

(a) the *composition of soil* and its *essentialities*,

(b) *weathering* or *erosion* - the *agents of erosion* and its *effects on soil*, and finally,

(c) *soil preservation* through *compos formation*, *multching* and applications of certain *artificial and natural fertilisers*.

It is interesting to know that the farmers come to realise the value and use of chicken and pig manures. In the past these things were regarded as rabis pekpek (rubbish). Secondly, the members are taught how to make a profitable vegetable garden. In this subject, members are introduced to new kinds of vegetables and crops. The third subject is Poultry. Here, the members are taught the value of eggs, particularly the protein-content of eggs and what it does to the body. Then it is followed with some knowledge on better ways of breeding chicken and precautions taken to prevent disease.

Piggery is perhaps the most important subject taught at the Centre. The local people are very keen on pigs and are tender in the care of these animals. Here, they are taught the best minerals needed for a good healthy pig. Intensive pig penning and housing is also taught. This is contrary to letting pigs roam and catching all sorts of worms and diseases, as in the traditional style.

Fish ponding is also a subject taught at the Centre. With all these the members come to learn about all sorts of animal and chicken feed and the knowledge of providing the right proportions of mix feeds for every meal.

Materials - All the above subjects are documented in Pidgin in a series of books called 'YANGPELA DIDIMAN BILONG NIUGINI', BUK 1-5 (Young Farmers of New Guinea, Books 1-5). Book 1 deals with soil usage, Book 2 with Vegetable Gardens, Book 3 with Poultry, Book 4 on Piggery and Book 5 on Fish Ponding. The materials were written in Pidgin by Mr. Tietze and were printed by Kristen Pres in Madang.

Time Allocation - As indicated, most attention is given to practical work. A day begins with a devotion at 10.00 - 10.15 a.m. Agricultural Theory classes are conducted from 11.00 - 12 noon. Lunch is from 12 - 1.30 p.m. Men's Club meetings are held from 1.30 to 3.30 p.m. on Mondays. At the same time on Tuesdays, women's Club meets. Community work is done on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 1.30 to 3.30 p.m. The same time on Fridays is sports. Saturday evenings are allocated for social nights, officially from 7.00 - 10.00 p.m. Most of the weekends (Saturday and Sunday) are free for the members to do what they like. The rest of the time is let to each member to work on his own farm.

Almost 10 hours is spent on classwork each week. Similarly, 10 hours each week is utilised for general meetings, community work and sports. The rest (61%) of the time is free for the individual's choice. Most of this 61% of time is expected to be used practically (on-the-job training).

The following is the timetable indicating weekly allocations of time:

TABLE 2

WEEKLY TIMETABLE

TIME	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THURS.	FRI.	SAT.	SUN.
7.00 - 10.00	Private Time						
10.00 - 10.15	Devotion						
10.15 - 11.00	Literacy and Maths Classes						
11.00 - 12.00	Agriculture Theory Class						
12.00 - 1.30	Lunch Hour						
1.30 - 3.30	General Meeting	Com. Work	Women Meet	Com. Work	Sports		
3.30 - 5.00	Private Time						
7.00 - 10.00						Social Night	

VALUE OF PROJECT: This pilot project can be valued from different fields of national concern. From the economic angle its aims are analogical to the government's general economic objectives. The project in its operation will determine the viability of government developmental objectives in Alkena and areas of similar socio-economic backgrounds. It will also help as a starting point to contribute information that could lead to Papua New Guinea's developmental strategies. As it stands, the project and its aims suit the aspiration of the present government, which is just and more realistic to the nature of Papua New Guinea society. Niugini is basically a rural society and will be for quite some time. For this reason development must concern the mass or the majority of the people. For almost 32 years after World War 2, the Colonial government's economic policy has triggered centralisation of economy, monopolisation of big businesses and a trend towards economic dependence. The priority from the colonial eye was to produce a middle-class economic elite whose competition would eventuate some kind of development. This view of initiating development was an illusion in the light of Papua New Guinea's aspirations. Realistically, Niugini government has deviated its emphasis to equalisation of income, equal distribution of wealth and rural development. These aims should be acted upon for the welfare of the majority of the people so as to establish economic and social justice.

The Alkena project is providing an opportunity for the villagers to earn some cash. The Centre is acting as the buyer and seller of rural produce, particularly potatoes, vegetables and eggs to the towns of Mendi and Hagen.

From the socio-welfare angle the Centre is introducing social functions that are of real attraction in the area. Members of the Centre, villagers, the staff, teachers of Alkena Primary School and the people around enjoy films, games and dances in the Community Hall. So much has been said about the attractions of the city/town's bright lights but nothing has been done by way of introducing these amenities in the rural grassroots. Alkena Training Centre is introducing these social functions in its own locality.

Educationally, members get an opportunity to learn Pidgin and general literacy. This enables the enthusiasts to widen their knowledge through reading whatever Pidgin material they can get hold of. At one stage, a member requested that the meanings of self-government and independence be documented in Pidgin and distributed to them.

Politically, the Centre is producing some men who now have a different perception of leadership. Some members, for example, resent the old concept of leadership which is attributed to men with a lot of wives, wealth and prestige. They would want leaders who are pre-occupied with the aims of socio-economic development for their people rather than looking for opportunities of accumulating wealth and prestige. All this indicates that the Centre is valuable as an agent of socio-economic and political development. Furthermore, the Centre, as it appears, is a potential agent of nation-building (community developing from grassroot approach). This is vital because it is geared to helping the village community as opposed to concentrating resources only in building an elite in the towns.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS: Firstly, the immediate problem of careful documentation of the whole operation is necessary and essential. This will include collection of data of the cost of establishing the Centre and more importantly the average cost of developing an acreage or a 'block'. Records of the cost of seeds, livestock and equipment given to members on loan are also important. Furthermore, a special account of the produce of each member is required for future use. The above information and the future documentation of village-member impact in the village situation will enable one to undertake a cost-benefit analysis of the project. The information could also be utilised for establishing estimates for future developments also here. Most of these figures are documented. However, it has been gathered that the amount and cost of the first lot of seeds distributed were not recorded. In addition to this, it was seen that the figures of sales of produce and seed distribution to members are recorded simply with the proceeds of the store. This could lead to difficulties when assessing the cost of developing an acreage of land.

The other immediate problems are transport and market. In terms of transport, Alkena is sharing one Toyota Stout with Banz which is about 70 miles away past Hagen. This same vehicle caters for the needs of 8 other Mission stations - 6 in the Western Highlands, 1 in the Southern Highlands and 1 in the Chimbu District.

The transport problem will intensify when other centres come into being. The problem of transport leads to market difficulties. The present sale of potatoes is an encouragement for the villagers. However, sales are not frequent owing to transport at least partly. The other is the availability of market outlets. Perhaps what is more dangerous is the affect of external markets on the local one. Potato markets from Australia, for example, are hampering the development of local markets. Furthermore, certain internal monopolies are also a negative factor in village participation in the monetary economy. Egg sales, for example, are very difficult either in Mendi or Hagen because of Illimo's service in these towns.

As for future problems, only three are discussed here.

First is finance. It has been stated that the financial aid for the project is coming solely from without the country. Future extension and establishment of such projects will depend on the availability of funds. Second, the problem of manpower in terms of extension workers. There will be a need for extension workers when individual farmers begin to retire to the villages. If the need arises for extension workers, where will they come from and how will they be organised? Can Banz continue to provide extension workers? Banz intake appears to be small in number and most trainees enter either the private sector or the D.A.S.F. The third future problem is the most important one. It concerns the Young Farmers in particular. It is still doubtful, at this stage, whether this minority group can stand the socio-economic and political pressures of their clansmen, some of which could be detrimental to their future development. In the case of certain clans, (e.g. Engawal), they have promised to help their young farmers on return to the village. To show this, they have allocated certain amounts of land for their young farmers. Some members have stressed the problem of tribal antagonism and fighting that could root out their undertakings and tasks in the villages. There is also a possibility of modern and traditional exchange systems, manifested in the 'Moka' ceremonies and bride-prices, being in conflict. Though the Centre appears physically as a village, it is still not realistically interwoven with the socio-cultural, economic and political life of the Kaugl valley. The trainees, therefore, are bound to face problems in the real village situation. It is here that the strength of men and women who are to be agents of modernisation in the village will be seen.

What will be our criteria of development and success if a sythesis of traditional and modern economy occurs, namely, the market of potatoes, vegetables and livestock, with its cash being absorbed into 'Moka' ceremonies and bride prices and big-manship? This point, however, should not blind us from seeing cash being used for school fees, buying of axes and other modern amenities.

SUMMARY CONCLUSION: Since this scheme is of national importance along various lines, as discussed, the needs of this project can not be seen by the Church alone. The Church, the government, and the Local Council could co-operate here by providing facilities, manpower and finance. Some of the problems discussed can be shared if there is co-operation between the above bodies. It has been said by the Supervisor, Mr. Tietze, that there is no real problem of providing extension workers. Ideally, the trainees will become the village extension workers. They will have to call in at the Centre for further advice and assistance.

As for tribal antagonisms, it needs a careful study of the problem. Again, co-operation is needed between the people, the Church, the government, the local leaders, such as the MHA, Government Councillors, to give special attention to the problem which appears to be a deep socio-cultural phenomenon.

The market problem can only be tackled by the Parliament. The government can justifiably discourage overseas markets so as to encourage local markets, especially for potatoes and vegetables. Certain monopolies, such as the Illimo farm, can and should be controlled and restricted for the sake of equal distribution of economy and prevention of economic disparities. The country cannot afford to have monopolies who capitalise on the expense of others. This is against the basic concept of egaliterianism in the New Guinea society. As for this reason, measures can be justifiably accomplished to prevent monopolies by individuals. If the government implements such a policy it will be of benefit to some 13,000 people of the valley for years to come.

The people, on the other hand, will have to demonstrate that their market outflow will be regular and dependable. Buyers will be discouraged and forced to look externally if there is no regularity in local markets. The problem of regularity, quality and quantity needs to be considered much by the local people and the extension workers at Yangpela Didiman Senta. In the future, a co-operative society or some kind of organisation will be required to purchase and sell local produce and regulate general marketing.

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The nick-named 'Professor Worike' (a teacher at Alkena Primary School) and his wife come under the same category of appreciation.

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Dus Mapun

A SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER ON THE PROPOSED CHANGE OF EDUCATION POLICY IN NIUGINI

INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION is an English word but nearly all of us, Niuginians, seem to know quite well what it means. Or better still let us, the people of this country, ask ourselves what education or school means to us at this time of our development. What is this institution doing to us really?

As a rule among the developing countries of the world, we value education very much because we think the solution to our present poverty lies in getting a good education. But here in Niugini we are now faced with the question: What type of education? An interesting incident in a Madang District Education Board meeting is reported by Rev.A. Schuster, the 1970 Lutheran Church representative on the Board. During this particular meeting a Local Government Councillor asked, "Education For What? When our children come back they are good for nothing, they have even lost the skill of garden work, they don't know enough English and are not literate in Pidgin either". So we must stop and look back to see how far we have come, and look ahead and see where we are going. We, those who have already got this education must examine ourselves what education has done to us. We must consider very carefully whether this education we are getting at present is leading us the right way. We must now ask: What type of education is this we are getting? What type of education do we want our children to get? What is education? Education for what? I do not propose to answer these questions in this paper firstly, because I do not think I know any clear answers to them, and secondly because my opinion of the present education policy may be completely different from the way other Niuginians look at it. Therefore I am simply telling you what I think of our present education policy and I am, thereby, making a few proposals.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH OUR PRESENT EDUCATION POLICY: It is clearly alienating. Our education today does not help us in any way. It has spoilt us. We are no use to our people in the villages. We, the educated Niuginians, do not know our traditional way of life. We have forgotten our languages. We do not know our traditional songs; some of us even don't know where we come from - what part of the country.

The present education in this country is no doubt a carbon copy of the Australian model. It is our colonial masters' education. We cannot blame these colonial masters because they don't or did not know of any other type of education to give us. The Australians know of the Australian education only, therefore to civilise and develop us to come up to their standard of life they have to give us their type of education. And so it is no wonder that educated Niuginians expect to enjoy a standard of living like the Australians do.

We must remember that Australia is an industrialised country like England or America. Therefore, their education is designed to meet the high, capitalistic standards of the industrial world. Niugini is an agricultural country. Our people are traditionally farmers. Thus the education we get now makes us Australians rather than Niuginians. We, the educated Niuginians like to work in offices in large towns but we do not want to work in the agricultural fields. This automatically creates a big gap between us educated Niuginians and the uneducated mass in the villages living by their hard work with their hands in their gardens. They are the majority rural or village dwellers and we are the minority city or urban dwellers. They do not understand us and we do not understand them. This is a serious problem we are creating when we need the help of each other to develop our country.

WHAT SHOULD BE THE AIM OF OUR EDUCATION POLICY THEN?: I think the ultimate aim of education in Niugini should not be to create a new world but to improve the old. The idea of a new world is inplanted in the minds of the children and parents who dream about going to school to learn everything about the whiteman's world and getting a good job in a town later. This is because our present education curriculum is rather URBAN-ORIENTED. By this I mean that there is a belief among students and parents that their education means shoes and long socks and working in an office in the city and their rightful tools to use in their work are pens and papers. In fact I heard one male student, who graduated from Form 4 say: "I thought I would be working in an office, using pen and paper, but see how my hands are blistering from these picks and shovels." As a holiday job he had been working on digging ditches for sewage pipes for a building contractor.

Education should give to the people the literary or general and technical know-how so that they become self-supporting citizens and realise their role in their country's social, economic and political development. Education should help every Niuginian to do his part to develop his country to a stage of economic viability with self-sustaining economic growth, and to reach a tolerable standard of living within that economy. This, I believe, will be achieved best by making full use of the great agricultural potential of our country. Unfortunately, in their eagerness for implanting their Western culture on us black Niuginians, our colonial education planners have not seen that Niugini is traditionally agricultural country and would remain so for a long time to come. What we want to do now before it is too late is to improve this traditional methods of farming so that first we grow our own food and then for sale. Fortunately, I think, it is not too late to restructure our education policy towards this direction.

Thus the aim of education must, right now, change to provide the skill to break through to a better agriculture, which lies within the traditional experience of our people, and systematically developed craftmanship. Instead of aiming to invest into a broad business-fostering class, our colonial education system still insists towards education for the elite and investment into highly speculative projects which require a specialist workforce.

Projects fostering a broad labour-force with good craftmanship and work-intensive factories would be more useful to us than ultra-modern capital intensive projects and institutions in Niugini. As a result of this wrong development and education policies, the negative effects of urbanisation worries us and will be our biggest problem later on. Unemployment is already becoming a crisis and in a very short time it will reach tidal proportions. While the rapid localisation is at its peak, there is no work for those who are leaving their villages in hundreds every year to seek white-collar jobs in our rapidly expanding towns. While I am writing this our members in the House of Assembly are jumping up and down for more high schools. What does this mean? If the present education policy is continued and our high schools are increased and expanded, what will happen to the thousands of Form 4 graduates in the future, say in about 10 or 15 years time? Will our government, or society be able to satisfy their expectation from their education which is nothing more than a highly rewarding urban job?

We can now see that our colonial education is programmed for the ONE student who comes to the University or High Tech, and not for the 99 who step aside frustrated? It may be possible to give them some sort of jobs at this time but later? Let me give one example here. In 1971 there were 100 students in Form 4 in Mendi High School and ONLY ONE was chosen for the University of Papua New Guinea. 99 have gone looking for jobs and training in towns and institutions, while their parents and wantoks long for their return someday, bringing with them a lot of money and other forms of wealth, and of course the whiteman's knowledge of how to get all this. But will they return?

What I am saying here is that education should be seen in the context of the country and people it is serving and not in the light of Western-oriented developmental aim. In fact the education policy in Niugini inplanted a failure complex and has produced almost an uprooted, psychologically imbalanced elite, divorced from its own people. This elite struggles to enjoy a Western style of life which is foreign to the economy of this country. When we demand 'higher' pay we are simply and honestly told that the economy of the country cannot afford it. Another phenomena the educated Niuginian has come to experience is that this failure complex is part and parcel of the inferiority complex.

Perhaps this is a common disease that the black man round the world suffers as a result of not being able to achieve equality with the whiteman.

I think it is anybody's belief that sooner or later Niugini will experience a tidal wave of unemployment, not in the rural areas but in towns, because our Western academic oriented education does not instill in our young people, the desire to see where they are needed most, in the agricultural fields. Instead education is seen as an escape from the rural areas where the young school leaver is unable to realise his aspirations.

Instead of becoming good useful citizens these young people are frustrated and disgusted for when they drop-out or leave school, especially the primary, their hope of a good life style in their future does no longer continue.

Thus society looks at the drop-outs or the leavers, or the unemployed for that matter, as the unsuccessful. They should be educated. They have failed to attain the new, whiteman's life that results from going to school and being educated. Parents and wantoks may curse them as such, at times of anger, for not complying with their expectations of education. The 'unwanted' by the society that created them. Hence they hate society. They engage in anti-social activities to rebel. They commit crimes such as stealing, rape, etc. Another common escape from all these feelings of unwantedness or frustrations among young people is drug addicting which will come to Niugini as it progresses into the international network of existence.

So we come back to the basic fact that European-Western education has succeeded in Niugini, as it has done in other countries of Asia and Africa, in opening the eyes of the school children to a life which only a very few of them will achieve. Western academic oriented education has instilled in educated people an unrealistic hope of becoming rich without working hard and dedicated but a good education alone. In this respect, English education in Niugini has become the greatest cargo cult of our times; and in its wake, when the promises do not materialise, it will aggravate the anti-English feelings or distrust in Australian Government and in an independent Niugini, the ruling elite, who have succeeded in getting that education.

This ruling elite will be seen as the social engineers working from colonial models but not as agents of autocthonous political, social and economic development. Thus the gap between the rulers and the ruled will become ever widening. This could be a fertile soil for political upheavals or civilian coups or rebels. A good example is what happened in Congo, Africa; during the upheaval there, it was in particular the educated elite who were chased and killed.

A French expert for African development has often criticised the French education policies in African colonies. Professor Rene Dumont has said, "Black Africa has had a bad start". He says the French Grants and development programmes for her colonies in Africa have failed because of her failure to educate the peasant, to give the vocational and skill and leadership as she had no interest in the peasant as a man, as well as a producer. Indian experts also air similar complaints. I think our own complaints here will be the same because we have been colonised by the same Western culture.

If this Western education creates these problems for us, we ourselves must take a stand and solve these problems. We must change or modify this system to meet our needs. This is not only in regard to education but the whole development plans. We must take a fresh look at things made ready for us. For our proper development as a people, as a nation, intellectually and physically. We must start from the grass-roots, the village community level. People must understand what is going on in life. They should have some general idea of how nature works on the plant and animal life. Here I am really thinking of a community development-type approach to adult education. The teaching of adults, e.g. literacy, is quite difficult, as I have experienced, but I think nothing comes easy. If we want to develop our people and our country let us work, and work hard.

PROPOSALS:

1. A complete change of policy in the language of instruction during the first three years of Primary, from English to Melanesian (Pidgin) or 'Tok Peles', or both - in which case one will have to be a subject. This is bearing in mind the present talk of increasing the age of entry to 8 years from 7; by this age, I think, the children should be fairly well culturalised and should be speaking, at least, the vernacular fairly well. English to be the medium of instruction for the remainder of Primary and whole of Secondary. However, Melanesian (Pidgin) to be still taught as a subject, especially in the fields of Literature.

2. A reorientation of the existing curriculum for Primary and Secondary to an agricultural bias, stressing communal work projects to foster a sense of collective responsibility. Schools in urban areas should be technical biased.

3. In both schools (rural and urban) about 70% of the time should be devoted to experimental learning and practical work, and 30% to academic classroom studies.

   If the child enters Primary at 8 he should graduate from it at the age of 14. After this he should enter the proposed National Youth Service till he is 15 years old, when he should continue to secondary. If the N.Y.S. is to be two years he should complete his service before he enters the tertiary or when he leaves the secondary.

4. Slow the increase of Secondary Schools and redirect the funds to Community Adult education, whose emphasis should be placed in a Mass-Literacy Campaign - and of course Technical Schools, for the needed technicians.

5. Primary subjects to be:

   (a) Melanesian and English in the second half of the Primary.

   (b) Mathematics.

   (c) Science, covered fairly well, e.g. elementary soil analysis, plant biology, etc.

   (d) Agriculture - practical and theory in rural schools, and theory and applied technical science in urban schools.

   (e) Art and craft and an outlet for the products - e.g. artifacts for tourists.

   (f) Culture - to include music, dance, drama, singing of traditional songs, locally composed and introduced, etc.

   (g) Social Studies.

(h) Principles of Commerce.

(i) Physical Education.

Time schedule to teach these to be left to the District Education Board or the local boards of management.

CONCLUSION: In the foregoing article I have attempted to make some criticisms of our present education policies - Western academic biased and not geared to Niuginian needs which lie in the agricultural and technical fields. Today's policy of trying to make English as the national language, rather than commercial, is discouraging; particularly in the effort for unity among Niuginians. The lack of a common enough language remains a problem to unity because of the colonial negative attitude towards Melanesian (Pidgin) as a distinct language and a means of communication.

Here I see Melanesian, although English will be taught and spoken widely, as the only language becoming a national tongue. Melanesian has the emotionalism which seems to give a nation its psychological satisfaction from using it's national 'native' language. English, as spoken, read and understood by Niuginians has not yet got this quality. Finally, I support any idea to delay the Primary entry age till 8 so that the parents can do their roles in the formal socialisation, and the children, I hope, should come to school with more understanding.

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